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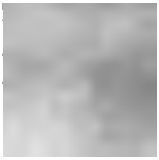

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OF

THE CHURCH OF ROME,

CONSIDERED WITH A VIEW TO

Unity.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"PROPOSALS FOR CHRISTIAN UNION."

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THE intention of my last little book was to shew that the differences between the English and Roman Churches were not so great as they are commonly thought to be; and by a comparison between the action of the Church of England, before and after the Reformation, to prove that the tendencies of that system of faith which we had renounced were less prejudicial than we have imagined. In the present pamphlet will be found a brief account of the various projects for re-union since the sixteenth century; a statement of the arguments for and against the Supremacy, and an attempt to adjust and harmonise them. The reader will also have presented to him the substance of Doctor Kenrick's case against, and M. Courayer's vindication of, the validity of Anglican Orders. Should these, his poor efforts, in ever so slight a degree, contribute to the great work of peace and reconciliation, the writer will have received his full reward. In this sentiment he faintly echoes the words of one who has gone to his rest. A priest, be it remembered, thus writes:—"Sincere and undisguised in the belief and profession of the Roman Catholic religion, the author affects not to conceal, because he is not ashamed of, its influence. Yet with this affectionate attachment to the ancient faith, he presumes not to arraign those who support other systems. Persuaded that their claims to mercy, as well as his own, depend upon sincerity and charity, he leaves them and himself to the disposal of the common Father of all, who, we may humbly hope, will treat our errors and defects with more indulgence than mortals usually shew to each other. In truth, Reconciliation and Union are the objects of his warmest wishes, of his most fervent prayers; they occupy his thoughts, they employ his pen; and if a stone shall happen to mark the spot where his remains are to repose, that stone shall speak of peace and reconciliation."*

E. S. A.

Paddington.

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* Preface to Eustace's Classical Tour.

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which might be conveyed in pipes through the whole town, and preserve, wherever and so long as might be required, a steady and brilliant flame. This idea was laughed to scorn. "Light the town with gas, indeed! what folly next?" The experiment was made, contrary to all expectation succeeded, and is now generally adopted; nor does any one, for the purposes to which it is peculiarly suitable, think of using any thing else. Again, for many years trams were used in all the collieries; it occurred to a reflecting mind, "Might not these iron roads be more extensively applied? might they not be carried across the country from one main point to another, and serve the same purpose as—and who could say, should not eventually supersede—the highways themselves?" This notion was denounced as still more outrageously absurd than the other, and but that individual projectors have rarely a large balance at their bankers', are great holders of stock, or have much landed property, a commission of lunacy would most likely have decided the merits of the question. Well, this idea has been acted upon and answered, and the result is, the mournful paradox of a mass of railways, at once the blessing and the curse of the land: the blessing, in the facilities of intercourse which they afford; the curse, in the improvident speculations which they have fostered.

As with matter, so with mind; principles which have sometimes made even rapid progress, and acquired considerable influence over many minds, have at their rise been regarded with indifference, or contempt: so far as these feelings may have been directed against their originators, in many instances, and I am conscious in my own, deservedly, but as against the principles themselves undeservedly, as the event has proved. Among the reviewers who have noticed my humble writings—to all of whom I beg to return my best acknowledgments for the honour which they have done me—that remarkably clever journalist, the "Spectator," closes a brief and not very encouraging critique with these words,—"the object of the writer is about as practicable as to make the rivers run upwards." What will my learned censor say, when I remind him that "Birnam Wood has come to Dunsinane?" that rivers have been and are made to run upwards? Throughout this vast city, in population, intelligence, wealth, importance, equal to a kingdom, the rivers quit the natural beds in which they flow, and, constrained, climb our walls, enter our chambers, and minister to our wants; and shall Art conquer Nature to subserve our bodily necessities, and Grace be unable to conquer Nature for the good of our souls? After all, in these "Proposals for Christian Union," how small a part is that which I can take to myself! scarcely more than the manual labour of committing them to writing. I have but as I could, in some sort, put into a positive and definite shape the thoughts of many hearts, which, in a great measure, feel what I express. "Stay, my Evangelical friend; you who revere the memory of good Simeon (whom to have heard often is one of the few bright recollections of my Cambridge life), put down that large stone which you have just taken up to throw at your Tractarian brother: the spell is in your heart too; my eyes deceive me strangely, if I do not see a 'Garden of the Soul' peeping out of that side-pocket." I repeat, I have done no more than put into something like a positive and definite shape the thoughts of many hearts. To borrow the eloquent and truthful language of Allies,—"Thousands and ten thousands feel, the whole rising mind of the Church feels, that we are torn from Faith's ancient home; that we groan within ourselves, waiting until God in his own good time restore a visible unity to his Church; till the east and the west and the south be one again in the mind of Christ."* Tendencies Romeward—gentle reader, be not affrighted at that word—are more or less plainly visible in the literature of the day. Treatises, containing elaborate arguments piled mountains high, to prove Rome the very Antichrist foretold in the Scriptures—even these, to such as have their senses exercised to discern indications of the kind, will often be found to betray misgivings. A door of hope is seen to be half opened, and then in an instant it is violently slammed to, bolted and barred, with truculent denunciations and fierce invectives.

Consider history: how large a portion is devoted to ecclesiastical subjects, and of these how few are chosen from the times after, compared with those selected from the times before, the Reformation. Whose simple graphic narrative is almost always the starting-point to those who would retrace our national annals? That of the Venerable Bede. And in what respect did the wise-hearted monk of Jarrow, in faith or practice, differ from those who now bear their reproach—the Roman Catholics of the present day? From the graver pass to the lighter forms of literature, take poetry: how much religious poetry is there now in comparison with that which there used to be? and in what deeper feeling and more vigorous thought is it conceived? Who will be unable to recognise the author of the following lines, or fail to perceive at a glance the religion which inspired them?—

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* Allies' Church of England not in Schism, p. 198. Burns.

> "Oft have I read of sunny realms, where skies are pure at even,
> And sight goes deep in lucid air, and earth seems nearer heaven;
> And wheresoe'er you lift your eyes the holy cross, they say,
> Stands guardian of your journey by lone or crowded way.
> And I have mused—how awfully its shadows and its gleams
> Might haply fall on infants' eyes, and mingle with their dreams,
> And draw them up, by silent power of its o'ershading arm,
> And deepen on the tender brow Christ's seal and saintly charm.
> Oft have I read and dream'd, and now behold a token true.
> A maiden from a distant isle, where Faith is fresh of hue,
> Where Memory tarries to reprove our cold, irreverent age,
> In churches set like stars around some saintly hermitage—
> Where old devotion lingers beside the granite cross,
> And pilgrims seek the healing well far over moor and moss;
> A noble-hearted maiden, from a believing shore,
> Is by to see Christ's little ones Him crucified adore!
> Upon a verdant hillock the sacred sign appears,
> A damsel, on no trembling arm, an eager babe uprears;
> With a sister's yearning love, and an elder sister's pride,
> She lifts the new-baptized to greet the 'Friend who for him died.'"*
> *Lyra Innocentium.*

Turn your thoughts to prose writers of fiction: time was that no one ever thought of sitting down to write a novel or romance, without taking care that all the horrors hinged on a Monk or a Jesuit. Now, to speak, as is always safest, within compass, the delineation of Roman Catholic faith and life is no longer the staple material for the dark shades of the picture. Go from your closet out into the world, I say, without fear of contradiction, that the power of the old religion is seen and felt every where; models our churches—disciplines our schools—reforms our charities—enters into, whence it was once utterly discarded, the theories of philanthropists—is in the mind of the statesman, affects and in some respects controls his actions, and shapes his measures. I do not say but that, over and above the causes assigned in my last little work, much of this be not attributable to the impression produced by that venerable pontiff whom the good Providence of God has raised up in these latter days; who, to the piety of the saint, adds the wisdom of the sage, the intrepidity of the soldier, and the fire of the patriot. The heart of this great and understanding nation never beat before as it beats now responsive to the prayer and hope of reconciliation; but this is not the first time since the change and separation that the thoughts of Christians have been turned to peace, and to give a slight account of the various projects for re-union, which from time to time have been set forth, will be the purpose of the remaining part of this introductory chapter.

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* "A traveller from Ireland witnessed this scene on the Continent, and described it to the author."—*Lyra Innocentium*, p. 56. Rivington.

We will commence with the attempts to unite the Lutherans and the Calvinists. Upon the authority of the Abbé Tabaraud, it has been stated that not fewer than fifteen different attempts were made to effect a re-union. While we marvel at the obstinacy which could resist so many efforts, we must respect the charity which endured through repeated failures.

After the death of Luther, which happened in the year 1546, Philip Melancthon was placed at the head of the Lutheran doctors.* Mosheim, whose words I am quoting, while he pays a just tribute to the merits and genius of this distinguished ornament of the Reformation, adds, almost complainingly, that his natural temper was soft and flexible, and his love of peace almost excessive: he certainly was not very anxious about making converts to the opinions which he had embraced, for on his aged mother asking him whether she should change her religion and become a Protestant, he replied without hesitation, that she had better remain as she was. From Luther's death to his own he strove unremittingly; but, unhappily, the event of his benevolent exertions served only to verify the words of the Psalmist—" I labour for peace; but when I speak unto them thereof, they make them ready for battle." After-ages, however, have done justice to a man, of whom his own was scarcely worthy; and the eye which wanders to and fro over these troubled and distracted times, rests with a pleased regard on the picture of the kind-hearted and good Melancthon. He died in the year 1560. "In the year 1568, Augustus, elector of Saxony, and John William, duke of Saxe Weimar, summoned the most eminent doctors of both the contending parties to meet at Altenburg, and there to propose in an amicable manner, and with a charitable spirit, their respective opinions." But the amicable manner did not come at command, nor the charitable spirit answer to its name. This project failed. Another method of restoring tranquillity and union among the members of the Lutheran Church was then proposed; and this was, that a committee of divines should compose a form of doctrine terminating and deciding all points of controversy, to be submitted to the approval of the civil and then of the ecclesiastical authorities, and after it had passed these two ordeals, to be added to the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church. By the especial command of two sovereign princes, the Dukes of Wittemberg and Brunswick, and encouraged by the countenance and support of several more, James Andreæ, professor at Tubingen, undertook the responsibility; and certainly, if the scheme was unsuccessful, this was not the fault of the able and indefatigable Professor: he went every where, corresponded and negotiated with every body, and left nothing untried which the wit of man could suggest to make the form generally acceptable. In due course of time the labours of the Professor were laid before a synod of Saxon divines at Torgaw, and by them carefully examined, revised, and corrected. It underwent a further revision, and received its finishing stroke, from a select body of theologians, who met at the Benedictine monastery of Berg, near Magdeburg. It then appeared with every augury of success, under the imposing title of "The Form of Concord;" but, as it turned out, it would have been a happier guess to have named it "The Form of Discord:" for, instead of uniting the divided, all the effect which it produced was to divide the united. The ill-success of these attempts to effect a re-union in the sixteenth, did not prevent other like efforts from being made in the seventeenth, century. In the year 1615, our King

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* Mosheim, cent. xvi. chap. 1, sect. 3, Part ii. vol. iv. Maclaine's edition.

James, who piqued himself on his theological qualifications (and not without reason, if a tenth part of the commendations which the prelates of his day bestowed on him were true), conceived the idea of reconciling the churches. The agent whom the king employed in this praiseworthy design was Peter de Moulin, one of the most eminent of the Protestant doctors in France; but Mosheim adds, and his statement is consistent with the infirmity of purpose of this scholar-king, " that the design was neither carried on with spirit, nor attended with success."

"In the year 1631, the Calvinist Synod at Charenton declared the Lutheran system of religion conformable with the spirit of true piety, and free from pernicious and fundamental errors;" but the Lutherans declined to return the compliment, and this came to nothing. "The same year a conference was held at Leipsic, between the Saxon doctors, Koe, Lyser, and Hopfner on the one side, and some of the most eminent divines of Hesse Cassel and Brandenburg on the other." The conference was managed on both sides with the most ceremonious politeness, coupled with its not unusual attendant, diplomatic distrust; this was to no purpose.

In the year 1661, a conference was held at Cassel, by the order of William IV. landgrave of Hesse, between Musæus and Heinichius, professors at Rintelen, on the side of the Lutherans; and Curtius and Heinsius, of the University of Marpurg, on the side of the Reformed. On the minds of those who assisted at the conference it had the happiest effect; they mutually acknowledged that their differences were less than had been imagined, and not such as could justify continued separation. They embraced, and gave each other the kiss of peace; but their noble sentiments were disowned by the body whom they seemed to represent, and reproaches and calumny were their portion.

When the authority of princes had been tried in vain, and the united efforts of professed theologians had been without avail, no very important results could be anticipated from the isolated endeavours of individuals; still, honour be to them for their good intentions, these were not wanting. Two deserve especial remembrance: the one, John Dury, or Dureus,* as Mosheim Latinises his name, a minister of the Kirk of Scotland; who, quitting his rural flock and quiet manse, devoted himself heart and soul to the noble work of reconciling his divided brethren. For forty years this earnest-minded man knew no rest to the sole of his foot; strong in faith and hope, he traversed the ancient palatial cities of Germany; climbed the snowy Alps; gazed wistfully on the calm glassy mirror of Geneva's lake; wrote, exhorted, admonished, entreated, and disputed; addressed himself to kings, princes, magistrates, and ministers: every body praised, but nobody attended to him. As he grew importunate, the world grew first resentful and then suspicious; so troublesome a person, who seemed to do all for love, and would take no denial, might be—nay the thing spoke for itself, must be—an emissary from the Pope, with insidious designs on the purity of the Lutheran faith. The balmy shower of honied compliments gave way to the storm of bitterest invectives; at last, worn by sore travel and toil, and enfeebled by approaching age, he gave up the work, which, disheartening as it was, had he been true to himself, he should not have relinquished but with his life. His religious views, however, were free from all imputation of Popery; he rejected positive institutions, and made every thing to consist in the religion of the heart: giving thus to the spiritualising element in Christianity that exclusive place which, highly as it is extolled, the Gospel does not concede to it.

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* Mosheim, cent. xvii. chap. 1, sect. 11, Part ii.

The other labourer in the same cause was Calixtus. He seems to have been a hearer of, or in correspondence with, Dureus, into whose projects he warmly entered: but his position was different; he was not as the former, an unknown wanderer; he was a professor of high repute in the University of Helmstadt. He gave to the world a theory of reconciliation, and the ungrateful world spurned the gift and inveighed against the giver. To him is awarded the credit of having originated, or revived, a system considered materially worse than any which had preceded it—Syncretism, as though one should sift the chaff from the wheat, put all the latter together, and throw the refuse away. Calixtus, as has been said, had no better success than his predecessors: but a few of his notions, in connexion with the subject, may not be without interest. He maintained that the Lutherans and Roman Catholics did not differ about the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith; but he entertained a strong opinion against the Council of Trent, the decrees of which he considered, as they stood, rendered reconciliation with Rome impossible.

The two great principles which he laid down were, first, that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity were preserved pure and entire in the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinistic communions, and were contained in the Apostles' Creed. Secondly, that the tenets and opinions which had been constantly received by the ancient doctors during the first five centuries, were to be considered of equal truth and authority with the express declarations and doctrines of Scripture. He thought, also, that if it were possible to bring back the Church of Rome to the state in which it was during the first five centuries, Protestants would no longer be justified in rejecting her communion. But the following opinion, and the last which I shall cite, expressed though it was with several qualifications, and guarded with very great circumspection, gave more offence than anything else that he had advanced. He thought that the members of the Romish Church, being sincere in their belief, were not to be excluded from salvation; — the rock this on which our own Hooker split. Still I hope that it be not heresy to think and to say, that since Scripture declares the way of life to be straight and narrow, the wit of man might be better employed than in endeavours to make it straighter and narrower than it is.

Reader, I should not wonder if, as you glanced over this unvaried series of failures, you felt that I was condemning myself at every step of my way: I hope hereafter to bring you to admit that these miscarriages, and I am sorry to think others yet to come, do not affect, fatally at least, my position and prospects. But before I touch upon other unsuccessful attempts, I must, as a slight set-off, present to your view a project of re-union which did succeed, and the beneficial effects of which continue to this day: and I shall present it under what is to me a most interesting and delightful aspect, for the hand which will point out to your notice things lovely and of good report is not a Protestant, but a Roman Catholic hand. The late learned and pious Mr. Charles Butler, whose knowledge on professional subjects might have justified the opinion that he had never given a thought to anything else, and whose valuable contributions to the later history of his faith might have led one to imagine that these pursuits had been his chief employment, writes that in the year 1620 a general union of all the Bohemian Churches was effected at Astrog, under the name of the Church of the United Brethren. He thus describes the United Brethren, or Moravians,—"The union which prevails both among the congregations and the individuals which compose them, their modest and humble carriage, their moderation in pursuit of gain, the simplicity of their manners, their laborious industry, their frugal habits, their ardent but mild piety, and their regular discharge of all their spiritual observances, are universally acknowledged and admired; their charities are boundless, their kindness to their poor brethren is most edifying; there is not among them a beggar; the care which they bestow on the education of their children, in forming their minds, chastening their hearts, and curbing their imaginations, particularly in those years

"When youth, elate and gay,
Steps into life, and follows unrestrained
Where passion leads, or reason points the way,"
(LOWTH),

are universally acknowledged, universally admired, and deserve universal admiration." He then proceeds to speak of their missions. Of the converts whom they had baptized, he declares that, "such had been their care in admitting them to the sacred rite, such their assiduity in cultivating a spirit of religion among them, that scarcely an individual had been known to relapse into Paganism. All travellers who have visited their settlements speak with wonder and praise of the humility, the patient endurance of privation and hardship, the affectionate zeal, the mild and persevering exertions, of the missionaries, and the innocence, industry, and piety of the converts. * * * How much more pleasing," adds this true Catholic, "is it to recount the virtues, than descant on the errors, of any Christian!"*

From—with this pleasing exception—the unsuccessful efforts to reconcile Protestants to each other, let us pass on to the schemes for reconciling the Protestants to the Church of Rome. We will take the movement towards the Calvinists first, for the work was set in motion from the Roman side; the hope of reconciling the Calvinists appears to have been confined principally to the Huguenots, or French Protestants. It was the glory, yet in a greater degree the misfortune, to the cause of the Reformed religion in France, that it was so soon espoused by the great and the powerful, that kings became its nursing fathers and queens its nursing mothers. Whether from any inherent defect in the system itself, or from other causes beyond control, instead of the Gospel's vanquishing the passions of the human breast, these passions gained the ascendant, and trod under foot the very Gospel itself. For years bloody wars desolated France, frightful cruelties and heartless dissimulations stained either side, overtopped, covered, and almost forgotten, in the terrible massacre of St. Bartholomew's. In reciting briefly the attempts made at reconciliation, I leave you, my reader, who know the history of the times, to judge how far these may be considered real, and how far the dictates merely of political expediency.

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* Butler's Works, vol. iv. Clarke.

"I have heard from persons of distinction," says Grotius (Epist. 1706, page 736), "that Henry IV. declared that he had great hopes of procuring for the King of England, and the other Protestant princes who were his allies, conditions which they could not honourably refuse if they had any real wish of returning to the unity of the Church; and that he had once an intention of employing bishops of his own kingdom on this project, but that this project failed by his death." It is said that with this view he invited Isaac Casaubon to Paris, and appointed him his librarian, intending to employ him confidentially in the matter. Grotius (Epist. 613) mentions as a saying of Casaubon, that the Catholics of France had a juster way of thinking than the ministers of Charenton: these were the most rigid of the French Huguenot ministers. In the reign of Louis XIII., after the siege and capture of Rochelle, the stronghold of the Huguenots, Cardinal Richelieu thought that a good opportunity to try what could be done in the way of re-union; the chief agent whom he employed was Father Dulaurens, an Oratorian. May he who was once a Master of our Israel, and for conscience sake has quitted the scene of his academic triumphs to become an humble Father of the Oratory, be animated with like desires; and may God bring them to a happy issue! Frequent conferences took place with the Protestant ministers, in which an amicable spirit was evinced on both sides; and it was resolved that, with the permission of the Pope and the authority of the King, an assembly should be convened of ecclesiastics of each communion. The ministers of Languedoc and Normandy were favourable, the ministers of Sedan unfavourable, to this proposition. The business went so far as even to settle the order in which the questions for discussion should be brought forward, which were to begin with the differences respecting the Sacraments. Father Dulaurens recommended that the Bible, even in the Calvinistic version of Olivétan, should be the only book appealed to on either side; but this the cardinal would not allow, to the exclusion of tradition. Grotius mentions that in several articles, as communion under both kinds and the invocation of saints, the cardinal was willing that concessions should be made to the Protestants, and suggested as a medium to reconcile them to the Pope, that a Patriarchate should be established in France, and that—with characteristic modesty—he himself be the first Patriarch. The death of the cardinal suspended the project.

In 1662, M. Le Blanc de Beaulieu, a professor of divinity at Sedan, beloved and respected equally by Roman Catholics and Protestants, drew up a plan of reconciliation, in which the essential articles in dispute were reduced to a small number. This plan, acquiesced in by the Roman Catholics, was submitted to the different Protestant Synods. By the ministers in Languedoc and the Isle of France it was well, by the Synod of Charenton ill, received; and after three years spent in negotiations the project fell to the ground. The subject of reconciliation was kept alive for twenty years and more, till, whether the impatience of the monarch, or the jealousy of the prime minister, Louvois, be to be blamed, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the persecutions which followed, destroyed all hope of reconciliation. That revocation, be it remembered, was an act of the State, not of the Church, who, in the person of her most virtuous and distinguished members, protested against and lamented it; and more, did all in her power to prevent its execution, or at all events lessen its severity. French Protestants now enjoy equal rights with their Catholic fellow-countrymen; old feuds and jealousies have passed away: but should heart-burnings linger still in any breast, may the reflection that France, for the most part a Catholic country, cheerfully allows a Protestant to stand at the helm, and guide her destinies, extinguish them.

The endeavours to reconcile the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches do not lie so open to suspicions as to the motives of those who engaged in them. An attempt of this kind was made towards the close of the seventeenth century. The Duke of Brunswick, who had just become a Roman Catholic, and had published "Fifty Reasons" for so doing, was one of the chief promoters—(this, by the way, is a good hint to our converts)—the other was the Duke of Hanover, father of George I., of which duke Queen Victoria is a lineal descendant, and in no better work could our illustrious sovereign engage, more fruitful of blessings to her kingdom and glory to herself, that in a similar one to that which occupied the pious thoughts of her benevolent ancestor. The principal agents in this movement were Christopher de Rohas, bishop of Neustadt, and Molanus, abbot of Lokkum, and director of the Protestant churches and consistories of Hanover; both appear to have possessed every qualification for their delicate office, and to have had the success of the business really at heart. As the event proved, it had been better for the cause of reconciliation had these two been entrusted with the entire management of the negotiation; but the distinguished philosopher Leibnitz, and the celebrated Bossuet, had at an early stage of the proceedings been associated with them. Conferences took place between the Bishop of Neustadt and Molanus, which ended in their agreeing on twelve articles to serve as the basis of the discussion; these the Bishop of Neustadt communicated to Bossuet, from whom they received a qualified approval. Molanus then wrote a treatise, called "Cogitationes Privatæ," in which he suggested a kind of truce, during which there should be ecclesiastical communion between the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans, and the anathemas of the Council of Trent be suspended: a general council was to be convened, in which the Protestants were to have a deliberative voice, and by the decrees of which both parties were to be bound. Molanus, writes Mr. Butler, to whom I am so largely indebted, notices in his dissertation several points in which one party imputed to the other errors not justly chargeable on them, several in which they disputed, merely for want of rightly understanding each other, and several in which the dispute was of words only.

Bossuet expressed himself extremely pleased with the dissertation: "the Council of Trent," he says, in one of his letters, "is our stay, but we shall not use it to prejudice the cause: this would be to take for granted what is in dispute between us. We shall deal more fairly with our opponents; we shall make the council serve for a statement and explanation of our doctrines: thus we shall come to an explanation on these points on which either of us imputes to the other what he does not believe, and in which we dispute only because we misconceive each other; this may lead us far, for the Abbot of Lokkum has actually conciliated the points so essential of Justification and the Eucharist. Nothing is wanting in him on that side, but that he should be avowed. Why should we not hope to conclude in the same manner disputes less difficult and of less importance?"

So far Molanus had conducted the discussion on the Protestant side; he now withdrew to make way for Leibnitz, while the Bishop of Meaux succeeded the Bishop of Neustadt. A correspondence ensued between the philosopher and Bossuet, in which the latter appears to have kept close, the former to have rather wandered from the point. It being presumed that the parties were agreed already on the articles of Justification and the Eucharist, Bossuet declared that the Church of Rome was ready to make concessions on points of discipline, and to explain doctrines, but would make no concession with respect to articles of faith, defined by the Council of Trent; but, even on articles of faith, he wished to consult the feelings of Protestants as much as possible. He offered them every fair explanation of the tenets of the council, he required from them no retractation of their own tenets. "Molanus," he says, "will not allow retractation to be mentioned. It may be dispensed with; it will be sufficient that the parties acknowledge the truth by way of declaration or explanation. Upon a complete confession of faith being obtained from the Lutherans, he was willing, among other concessions, to allow them (if they required it), communion in both kinds; that their bishops should retain their sees, married bishops and priests their wives; and that every other arrangement should be made by the Church and State which would be agreeable to the feelings and prejudices of their new brethren. The correspondence between Leibnitz and Bossuet went on for ten years, and when this has been said it is almost unnecessary to add that it came to nothing.

It remains that I should notice one more attempt, and that the most interesting to ourselves, made in the reign of Lewis XV. to effect a union between the Churches of Rome and England.* The origin appears to have been as follows:—Mr. Beauvoir, chaplain to Lord Stair, the British Ambassador at Paris, happened to be dining in company with Dr. Dupin and three other Doctors of the Sorbonne; the conversation took a conciliatory turn, and a wish was expressed for union with the Church of England, as the most effectual means to unite all the Western Churches. These words made a great impression on Mr. Beauvoir, who wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Wake, adding that Dr. Dupin desired his duty to the Archbishop; who, in reply, spoke in complimentary terms of the Doctor: after this exchange of courtesies, the correspondence was opened by a letter from Dr. Dupin to the Archbishop, in which he mentioned generally, that in some points of dispute the supposed difference between the two communions was reconcileable. The Archbishop replied. Shortly after a discourse was delivered at the Sorbonne, by Dr. Piers, in which the subject was mooted, and an observation made that the English Church might be more easily reconciled than the Greek Church. This discourse was forwarded to the Archbishop. The next public step was the publication of Dr. Dupin's "Commonitorium," in which he examined, and gave his opinion on, our Thirty-nine Articles.

The first five of these Articles he approves; on the Sixth, "The Sufficiency of Holy Scriptures for salvation," he expresses himself thus:—"This we will readily grant, provided that you do not entirely exclude Tradition, which doth not exhibit new articles of faith, but confirms and illustrates those which are contained in the sacred writings, and places about them new guards to defend them against gainsayers." He thought that the Apocrypha ought to be deemed canonical, equally as those books concerning which there were doubts for some time. But, since they were not in the first or Jewish canon, he would allow them to be called Deutero-canonical. To the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, we may presume that he had no objections. He consents to the Tenth Article, which relates to "Freewill," provided by the word "power" be understood what school divines call *potentia proxima*, or a direct and immediate power; since, without a remote power of doing good works, sin could not be imputed. With respect to the Eleventh Article, "On Justification," Dr. Dupin expresses thus the sentiments of his brethren,—"We do not deny, that it is by faith alone that we are justified; but we maintain, that faith, charity, and good works are necessary to salvation: and this is admitted of in the Twelfth Article. On the Thirteenth Article, "Of Works before Justification," he thinks it "very harsh to say, that all those actions are sinful which have not the grace of Christ for their source;" but he considers this rather as a matter of theological discussion than as a term of fraternal communion. On the Fourteenth Article, "Of Works of Supererogation," he observes,—"That works of supererogation mean only works conducive to salvation, which are not matters of strict precept, but of counsel only; that the word being new, may be rejected, provided it be owned that the faithful do some such works."

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* Mosheim, Maclaine's Appendix, iii. vol. vi.

The Doctor makes no objection to the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Articles. His observation on the Nineteenth Article is, that to the definition of the Church, the words "under lawful pastors" ought to be added; and that though all particular Churches, even that of Rome, may err, it is needless to say this in a confession of faith. On the Twentieth Article he says, that it must be taken for granted that the Church will never ordain any thing contrary to the word of God, in matters which overturn the substance of faith. On the Twenty-first Article he remarks, that General Councils received by the Universal Church cannot err; and that though particular Councils may, yet every private man has not a right to reject that which he thinks contrary to the Scriptures. On the Twenty-second Article he observes, that souls must be purged, that is, purified, from all defilement of sin, before they are admitted into celestial bliss, and that the Church of Rome does not affirm this to be done by fire; that indulgences are only relaxations or remissions of temporal penalties in this life;

that the Roman Catholics do not worship the cross, nor relics, nor images, nor even saints before their images, but only pay them an external respect, which is not of a religious nature; and that even this external demonstration of respect is a matter of indifference, which may be laid aside or retained without harm.* He approves of the Twenty-third Article: on the Twenty-fourth he allows, that divine service may be performed in the vulgar tongue, where that is customary. On the Twenty-fifth, he insists on the acknowledgment of the Seven Sacraments. He approves of the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Articles. On the Twenty-eighth, he is willing to omit the term Transubstantiation, and proposes that the part relating to it be thus expressed,—"That the bread and wine are really changed into the body and blood of Christ, which last are truly and really received by all, though none but the faithful partake any benefit from them." This extends also to the Twenty-ninth Article. Concerning the Thirtieth Article, he allows of Communion in both kinds. On the Thirty-first Article, he maintains that the sacrifice of Christ is not only commemorated, but continued, in the Eucharist, "and that every communicant offers him along with the priest." On the Thirty-second, he allows that the priests may marry where the laws of the Church do not prohibit it. He acquiesces in the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth. He suspends his judgment on the Thirty-fifth, never having read the Homilies. As to the Thirty-sixth, he would not have the English ordinations pronounced null, though some of them perhaps are so; but thinks that if a union be made, the English clergy ought to be continued in their offices and benefices, either by right or indulgence, *sive ex jure, sive ex indulgentia ecclesiæ*. He admits the Thirty-seventh, so far as relates to the authority of the civil power; denies all temporal and all immediate spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope; but alleges, that by virtue of his Primacy, which moderate Church-of-England men do not deny, he is bound to see that the true faith be maintained, that the canons be observed every where; and when any thing is done in violation of either, to provide the remedies prescribed by the canon laws for such disorders. As to the rest, he is of opinion that every Church ought to enjoy its own liberties and privileges, which the Pope has no right to infringe. The Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth Articles he approves.

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* I have been unable to procure the original work from which Maclaine copies. Will any of my readers tell me where it is to be found?

This scheme of re-union went no further than an interesting correspondence between Doctor Dupin and our Archbishop, in which the latter acted with great discretion and good sense, and did not in a single tittle compromise the rights and independence of the Church of England,

And now, courteous reader, the time is come that I should bespeak your indulgence while I enter upon what, I dare say, you will feel to be a very uphill work,—that of vindicating my own position, and justifying myself for persisting in a path beset with so many difficulties, and strewn with the ruins of so many abortive projects. I see, by the expression of your countenance, that you are against me; but consider, where would the world be now, what mighty discoveries would it not have lost in science and art, had even an uninterrupted series of past failures been held decisive against future efforts? and if the philosopher not only escape censure, but merit praise for perseverance in the face of difficulties and discouragements, surely the Christian may be pardoned for hoping against hope? It is a sound axiom that like causes produce like effects, but not equally sound that unlike causes produce like effects. If I shew you that the circumstances under which union would be attempted now differ materially from the circumstances under which it has been attempted before, and that the differences are rather in favour of the attempt being made, you may still retain your misgivings as to the result, yet acquit me of blame for trying. As to the earlier endeavours after re-union, the reputation of the Reformers frowned down all efforts to undo the work which they had but just accomplished; with regard to the later, attachment to their distinctive tenets was still too strong in the breasts of Protestants to admit of any well-grounded hope of reconciliation. In those days, also, the will of sovereigns and the policy of statesmen exercised an immoderate influence; the movement which had religion for its ostensible, had often a secular object for its real motive, and this there is little doubt to have been the case in the last negotiation named. The Archbishop and Doctor Dupin had the good of the Church at heart; but the encouragement which the Regent of France for a time gave to the scheme, was nothing but a temporary expedient of state policy to alarm the Pope, with whom the French court was then at variance. But these opposing causes do not exist now. Continental Protestantism, in gradual degeneration from bad to worse, has at last, as a definite system of belief, lost all hold, even on its best members; while Infidelity on the one hand, and Roman Catholicism on the other, are profiting largely by this desertion or apathy. The political condition of England, also, is much changed from what it was even in the last century, not to speak of times more remote.

Sovereigns—I trust that my loyalty may not be called in question for this assertion—do not govern quite as they used to do; neither are administrations, with deference to Lord John Russell, all powerful. An authority which has ever existed, but which for generations was more feared than loved, more distrusted than confided in, more oppressed and put down when opportunity served than fairly treated and upheld, is now fully acknowledged and generally deferred to—public opinion; not the fleeting fancies of the unreflecting multitude, but the deliberate judgment of the earnest, thoughtful, experienced, and intelligent in the nation of all classes, not created by, but speaking through, an honest, manly, independent press;—public opinion in this country, I fearlessly assert, is in favour of religious peace and Christian union. Other lands have their peculiar institutions, and we have no wish to interfere with them; in these the liberty of the individual is more restricted, the press less free. Happy, as I believe those who live under these systems to be, it is still true that the minds of reflecting men turn habitually to England. Watch the progress of sentiment here. Without intending to imply the least assumption of superiority on our part, the tone of public opinion in other countries is insensibly influenced and modified by the prevalent tone here, and the remark holds good, even with respect to the momentous subject of which I am now speaking. When, three or four years since, desires for re-union were awakened, and loudly and affectionately expressed on this side of the Channel, they were not less warmly responded to on the other: that cry is indeed hushed, for the lips that gave utterance to it are mute, or to us worse than mute,—have learned a strange language; but who is to say, that that cry shall not be taken up again?

When, three centuries since, the ties of unity were broken, a spirit was evoked, stern, ruthless, vindictive, that, in strange confederation with the noblest and basest passions of our nature, spread havoc and desolation around, before which was as the garden of the Lord, behind as a howling wilderness. In our own days a spirit has been evoked, stern, ruthless, vindictive too, but its work of destruction is finished within ere it go abroad; it throws not down the altars nor lays in ruins the sanctuaries of God, but—better part—destroys the idols of our hearts, the pride and selfishness we have worshipped there. Once seen, it cannot be mistaken for other than it is,—the spirit of wisdom and of a sound mind.

I beheld, in vision as it were, this spirit, as some good angel in bodily form, go forth, bearing in his hands the symbol of the Crucified One. He hastened first to the dark, neglected dwellings of the poor, and wheresoever he set his foot, famine and disease fled before him, joy and health came at his bidding; he entered the haunts of ignorance and vice, and the blaspheming lip was hushed, and at the name of Christ men departed from iniquity; he turned to the labourer busied in his thankless toil, and his care-worn features brightened, his scant wages increased, comforts unknown before gathered around him; he passed through the crowded factories, and the shuttle dropt from hands which nature never meant for such a work, while the dial, as that of Ahaz in sacred story, told the diminished hours; he descended the shaft, and the heart of the miner leapt within him at the thought that, though deep in the bowels of the earth, there were breathing the fresh air of heaven who remembered and who cared for him. He walked this earth again, and the wayside oratory and frequent cross distilled his doctrine as the dew, that "here we have no abiding city." He paused where the Churches of God mouldered in cold decay, and the renovated fabrics rose glorious from their ruins. Reading, in the full heart of youth, the resolve to die, if need were, for Jesus's sake, he took him by the hand, and led him to where the hooded man planted the cross upon our pagan land, or to the spot dear for St. Andrew's name, and there, by hardy discipline, and careful study, and earnest prayer, and meditation deep, and duly kept recurring Fast and Festival, and tender soothing ministries among the aged and the sorrowing, trained him to do the work of an Evangelist; then sent him forth to climes over which England's sceptre for generations has been stretched, yet, to our shame, England's God unknown.

I saw him once again, and after that he vanished from my sight. He stood in a reverend place, where once our spiritual fathers were wont to assemble in deliberation on the grave and pressing interests of the Church; for three centuries as free men they had not met, and for a century and more they had not met at all: in reality that is,—a phantom had been often there. In that place, the very emptiness of which struck a chill, he stood of whom I speak, and I saw that his righteous soul was vexed within him, and his colour came and went, as keen memories of wrong upon wrong, oppression on oppression, contumely on contumely, meekly endured by the faint Church at the State's imperious will, flashed upon his mind; and thus it was, till, wrought up to a stern, inflexible resolution, he gave the word, and, after a pause for a short struggle, boldly adventured and bravely borne, the Church won back her right, the council chambers were refilled by crowds which came flocking in; and methought, in the firm, composed countenances of those who assembled there, I read, Oh, that I may not have erred!—the earnest of peace and reconciliation.

CHAPTER II.

ARGUMENT FOR SUPREMACY.

Recapitulation of Points that should be explained and modified by the Roman Church—Doctor Kenrick's "Primacy Vindicated"—Promise of Primacy—Institution of Primacy—Exercise of Primacy—Interpretation of the Fathers—Peter, bishop of Rome—Roman Church—Centre of Unity—Ancient Controversies—Guardianship of the Faith—Governing Power—The Hierarchy—Deposition of Bishops—Appeals—General Administration of the Bishops of Rome beneficial to Society.

It may, perhaps, be said, that the advances on the side of Rome detailed in the preceding chapter were made by private individuals, confessedly learned, pious, able, distinguished men, of enlarged and comprehensive views, but still bearing no official character, and who, therefore, ought not to be assumed to speak the sentiments of the Church. Exception may also be taken to the French soil as the scene of the negotiations. It may be suggested that the spirit of Gallican independence manifested itself in these negotiations, which, had matters gone far enough to admit of proof, might have been found far from agreeable to the Vatican. With all due allowance for these objections, I think that we may safely venture to affirm that neither Bossuet nor Dupin were the men to propose or consent to any conditions inconsistent with a just regard to the principles of Catholic truth. It may also be remarked, as an observation confirmed by experience, that in any misunderstandings, the proposals for peace which come from either side, though often withdrawn almost as soon as made, have a certain hopeful character about them, after they have been once named. Now, let us recapitulate the reasonable modifications which Rome may be fairly supposed likely to make in our behalf. Surely she will be disposed to deal as considerately with us as with the Lutherans? The Council of Trent, then, on Bossuet's authority, will not be used to prejudice the cause, but to serve for a statement and explanation of doctrines. Thus we shall come to an understanding on those points in which either of us imputes to the other what he does not believe, and in which we dispute only because we misconceive each other. As to the points of Justification and the Eucharist, if the Lutheran ideas could, surely there is no great reason to fear that ours cannot, be reconciled with the Roman doctrine. On articles of faith Rome would, as a matter of course, wish to consult the feelings of members of the Church of England as much as possible; she would offer them every fair explanation of the tenets of the Council of Trent; she would require from them no retractation of their own tenets, that might be dispensed with; it would be sufficient that the parties acknowledged the truth, by way of declaration or explanation. We might depend, also, that the Roman Church would make every arrangement which would be agreeable to the feelings and prejudices of her new brethren,—to pass from the age of Bossuet to that of Dupin, from the hypothetical inferences deducible from a Lutheran Pacification to the actual conditions of an Anglican Union. We may reasonably conclude that the favour proposed to be shewn to our forefathers in the eighteenth century would not be thought too great to confer upon us in the nineteenth. For instance, that the doctrines respecting purgatory, indulgences, the veneration of saints, relics, and images, would be explained to our satisfaction, so as to clear them from the popular, but unfounded, imputation of superstition; that divine service might be performed where customary in the vulgar tongue; that the word "Transubstantiation" be omitted, the verity of the Real Presence being preserved; that communion in both kinds be permitted; that priests may marry, where the laws of the Church do not prohibit it; that English ordinations be not pronounced null, but that the English clergy be continued in their offices, or benefices, *sive ex jure, sive ex indulgentia ecclesiæ*. And this brings me to the main difference, the "great bar to union," as, if I recollected the words aright, that very able journal, the "English Churchman," phrases it, the claims of the Church of Rome, chiefly in virtue of her alleged supremacy. The present chapter contains the argument on the Roman side, taken for the most part, word for word, from a work by Doctor Kenrick, Roman Catholic Bishop of Philadelphia, entitled "The Primacy of the Apostolic See Vindicated," in which the subject is copiously handled, and with fairness and moderation. The few prefatory remarks I am about to make are my own, or rather, I should say, Doctor Kenrick's considerably diluted. That the visible Church should have a visible Head appears consonant with reason; to maintain order within, to guard against aggression from without, to preserve truth, to suppress and extinguish error, would seem to demand a strong government, in which, with due regard to the just rights of the governed, all needful powers should be conferred upon the governor; and a certain presumption might lie, that that kind of rule, found to answer best the exigencies of the civil, would be provided for the spiritual society: in other words, that the Church should be a Monarchy. While, as a protection against the evils likely to tell with even greater force upon the Church than the State, the evils of a disputed succession, there might reasonably be expected, some clear and definite intimation as to the person in whom the supreme power should vest. Let us search the Scriptures to see if there be any indications of the kind. First, as to the form of government which the Church is to present, it is always spoken of as a kingdom, even in these emphatic words in which its spiritual, its unworldly nature, is declared, its peculiar constitution is expressed and implied: "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence." It is not pretended that the word "kingdom" is always employed in the same sense; but the word occurs over and over again in our Lord's teaching, with a constancy that is remarkable.

The next step is to examine the Scriptures further, to ascertain if there can be discovered indications of any particular person having been designed and marked out by our Blessed Lord, for this the great and responsible office of head and ruler of his Church, that is, the PROMISE OF THE PRIMACY. In Matthew x. 2, we read, "Now the names of the twelve Apostles are these; the first Simon:" so in the other Evangelists the order in which the names of the other Apostles stand is occasionally varied, that of Peter is always placed first; upon which the great Barrow remarks, "Constantly in all the catalogues of the Apostles, St. Peter's name is set in the front, and when actions are reported, in which he was concerned, jointly with others, he is usually mentioned first, which seemeth not done without careful design or special reason." Matthew xvi. 13,—"When Jesus came into the coasts of Cæsarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am? And they said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." Bloomfield, the learned, diligent, and (in a worldly point of view) I fear, ill-compensated Annotator on the New Testament, observes, that every modern expositor of note has abandoned the distinction between Peter and the rock as untenable. Bishop Marsh, quoted by him, says, that it would be a desperate undertaking to prove that Christ meant any other person than Peter. Rosenmüller, the German Rationalist, coincides in this critical judgment: "the rock," says he, "is neither the confession of Peter nor Christ, but Peter himself." Gerard, in his "Institutes of Biblical Criticism," writes, that "the connexion shews that Peter is here plainly meant." Mr. Thompson of Glasgow, in his "Monatessaron," speaking of this interpretation, says, "There seems to be something forced in every other construction. Protestants have betrayed unnecessary fears, and have, therefore, used all the hardihood of lawless criticism, in their attempts to reason away the Catholic interpretation." The figure of "the keys of the kingdom of heaven," which our Lord adds, confirms and developes the idea of power and authority contained in the preceding metaphor,—"I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." The keys are the ancient emblem of authority. Of Eliakim, who was to be substituted for Shebna in the high-priesthood, it is written,—"The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open!" To give the keys of this kingdom is to communicate supreme power, to make Peter His special vicegerent. To resolve the difficulties of the law, and decide religious controversies—to enact laws binding the members of the Church, and to dispense from their observance—to inflict censures on the refractory, and release the penitent from their bonds, may all be signified by these terms. To all the Apostles the power of binding and loosing was afterwards promised, but not without special design it was promised to Peter first, and alone, that his high authority might be manifested. Luke xxii. 31, 32,—"And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." He had just spoken of the kingdoms and thrones of the Apostles; he now discloses the dark designs of hell against them, and addresses Peter especially, and emphatically assures him that he had prayed for him in particular that his faith might not fail: against him the powers of hell shall not prevail, as they cannot prevail against the Church founded on him.

We proceed next to the INSTITUTION OF THE PRIMACY. After the resurrection of our Lord from the dead he appeared to certain of his disciples, of whom Peter was one, on the shore of the sea of Tiberias, and a miraculous draught of fishes, in which Peter went and drew up the net to land, testified the wonderful conversion of the nations by the Apostles, with Peter at their head, acting under the command of Jesus. "When they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs. He saith unto him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep. He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? and he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee.

Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep!" St. Bernard, addressing Pope Eugenius, speaks thus,—"Nor are you the shepherd of the sheep alone, but of the shepherds also: the one pastor of all. Do you ask me how I prove this? From the word of the Lord; for to which—I do not say of the Bishops, but—of the Apostles themselves, were all the sheep committed so absolutely, so unreservedly? 'If thou lovest me, Peter, feed my sheep.' What sheep? the people of this or that district, city, or kingdom? 'My sheep,' he says. Who does not manifestly see that he did not designate any, but assigned them all to him? None are excepted where no distinction is made. The other disciples were perchance present, when, entrusting all to one, he recommended unity to all in one flock and one shepherd."* Apart from all tradition, and on the strictest principles of critical exigesis, the superior authority of Peter is proved from the Scriptures. It cannot be supposed that the keys of the kingdom, the confirmation of the brethren, the feeding of lambs and sheep, denote no special authority; there cannot be capriciously extended to the other Apostles a promise, charge, and commission addressed to him alone. Christ is the good Shepherd, he charges Peter to act in his stead. Thus in withdrawing his sensible presence, he leaves Peter clothed with his authority, and intimates its tender and kind character by an image the most affecting. The power of each Apostle was like that of Peter, co-extensive with the world; but Peter was pastor, ruler, and superior. They were all equal in the episcopal character, and even in apostolic authority; with this difference, that their power was subordinate to his, that even in their persons unity might be exhibited; and that his universal jurisdiction was a permanent attribute of his office as pastor and ruler, to descend and continue for ever in his successors, whilst theirs was a personal prerogative, whereof the bishops would partake, without enjoying severally its plenitude. This distinction is gathered from the marked manner in which Christ addressed Peter individually, whilst he promised and gave authority to the others in common. Bossuet beautifully observes,—"The power divided among many imports its restriction; conferred on one alone over all, and without exception, it bears the evidence of its plenitude: all receive the same power, but not in the same degree, nor to the same extent. Jesus Christ commences by the chief, and in the person of the chief developes all his power; in order that we should learn that the ecclesiastical authority, being originally centered in one individual, has been diffused only on the condition that it should always be reflected back on the principle of its unity, and that all they who share in it should be inseparably connected with that See which is the common centre of all Churches." *

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* L. ii. De Consid. c. 8.

From the Institution we pass to the EXERCISE OF THE PRIMACY. The first instance occurs in the choice of an Apostle to fill the place of Judas. Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, and addressed them as one having authority: on which St. Chrysostom observes,—"He permits the choice to the judgment of the multitude, thus securing their regard for the objects of their choice, and freeing himself from jealousy. Could not Peter himself have chosen the individual? By all means; but he abstains from doing it, lest he should appear to indulge partiality. He is the first to proceed in this matter, because all have been delivered over into his hands; for to him Christ said, 'Thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.'" Another instance is found in the first council at Jerusalem, on the subject of the observance of the ceremonial law. Before Peter rose to speak there had been much disputing. After he had delivered his opinion, the multitude kept silence. Peter authoritatively speaks, reminds the assembly that he had been chosen to announce the Gospel to the Gentiles; that God had given evidences of his favour towards them; reproaches his brethren with seeking unnecessarily to burden them with the multifarious observances of the ceremonial law; and declares the great principle of faith in Jesus Christ as the only foundation for hope for Jew or Gentile. No sooner has he spoken than all acquiesce; no dissenting voice is heard, no murmurs, all opposition ceases, and whoever rises to speak, only confirms, like Paul and Barnabas, by the narrative of miraculous facts, what Peter had declared of the favour shewn by God to the Gentiles; or, like James, refers to the prophecies, adding the sug-

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* Discourse on the Unity of the Church.

gestion of the measures to be decreed, that the principle might be carried into successful execution. The writers of antiquity speak of the letter of the council as the sentence or decree of Peter. Tertullian saith, that "The decree of Peter loosed such things of the law as were set aside, and bound such as were retained." St. Jerome, that "Peter was the author of this decree." Cave explains the words of Paul, that he went to Jerusalem to see Peter, of his going up on this occasion, Peter being the leading character in the council. Barrow writes,—"At the consultation about supplying the place of Judas, Peter rose up, proposed and pressed the matter; at the convention of the Apostles and Elders he first rose up, and declared his sense, in the promulgation of the Gospel and defence thereof before the Jewish rulers, he did assume the conduct, and constantly took upon him to be the speaker, the rest standing by, implying assent, and ready to avow his word."* The Bishop of Meaux presents at one view the various circumstances in which he appears foremost. "Peter appears the first on all occasions: the first to confess the faith, the first to express his obligation of love; the first of all the Apostles who saw Christ after his resurrection, as he was the first to bear testimony to this fact before all the people. We find him first when there was question of filling up the number of the Apostles, the first who confirmed the faith by a miracle, the first to convert the Jews, the first to receive the Gentiles; in short, every thing occurs to establish his supremacy."† Archbishop Potter remarks that our Lord appeared to Peter after his resurrection, before the rest of the Apostles; and before this He sent the message of His resurrection to him in particular. From these and other examples he concludes,—"It is evident that St. Peter acted as chief of the College of the Apostles, and so he is constantly described by the primitive writers of the Church, who call him the Head, the President, the Prolocutor, the Chief, the Foreman of the Apostles, with several other titles of distinction."‡ It is not necessary to shew that Peter actually exercised all and every one of the attributes of spiritual sovereignty, especially since we have no detailed history of the Apostolic age, the Acts of the Apostles being confined to a few leading facts, marking the commencement of the Church. Since the promise of Christ, his charge to Peter at the last supper, and his commission after his resurrection, present to us the idea of a viceroy, superintendent, and pastor, and the prominent part taken by Peter corresponds with this idea, there is warrant for believing him to have possessed and exercised a true supremacy. "I do not labour to prove," continues Bishop Kenrick, "what are the essential rights of the chief pastor: I ask only that his primacy, so clearly established, be admitted. I produce his commission with the seal of the Great King, and demand that it be respected."

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* Treatise on Pope's Supremacy.

† Discourse on the Unity of the Church.

‡ On Church Government, p. 72-74.

So far the argument has been confined to the language of Scripture. We take now a wider range, the INTERPRETATION OF THE FATHERS. It is proper to remark, that the testimony of the Fathers is of far greater weight than their individual authority as expounders of holy writ: individually they can have no claim on our assent beyond their personal qualifications, which, however high, cannot impose on us the necessity of adopting their peculiar views, or yielding our own judgment to their opinions; but, as witnesses, they inform us of facts, namely, that certain doctrines were in their time professed in the Church, that certain interpretations of Scripture were then received. And these facts are of the utmost importance, since the faith of the Church has a divine guarantee; and the interpretations of Scripture generally received are not easily to be separated from the deposit of revelation. Whenever, from their combined testimony, it is certain that any doctrine was generally maintained as of faith in the early ages of the Church, we hold it as having come from the Apostles. Whenever the Fathers generally offer the same interpretation of any texts of Scripture in support of any doctrine, or principle of ecclesiastical government, we may fairly infer that such was the meaning as originally understood and delivered. Tertullian died about the year 217. He was a priest of Carthage, long in communion with the Catholic Church; which, however, in the latter years of his life, he abandoned to embrace the tenets of Montanus. In reply to the Gnostics, who did not hesitate to boast of knowledge superior to that of the Apostles, he indignantly demands,—"Was any thing concealed from Peter, who was styled the Rock on which the Church was to be built, who received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth?"* Subsequently, when the Bishop of Rome, by a solemn decree opposed to the errors of Montanus, had declared penitent adulterers admissible to reconciliation and pardon, Tertullian scoffingly spoke of the edict. "I hear," said the austere African, "that an edict has been published, and indeed a peremptory one, namely, the Bishop of Bishops (which is equivalent to the Sovereign Pontiff), proclaims, 'I pardon the sins of adultery and fornication to such as have performed penance.'"† Faber admits that the language of Tertullian implies that a high degree of authority was claimed and exercised by the Bishop of Rome. "In the time of Tertullian, whose life extended into the third century, a considerable advance had plainly been made by the See of Rome in the claim of the primacy, inasmuch as he calls the Bishop of that Church the Supreme Pontiff, and distinguishes him with the title of Bishop of Bishops."‡ The authoritative character of the decree is evident from its being styled peremptory, and from Tertullian's observing, "This is read in the church, and proclaimed in the church." There is here an unexceptionable witness of the fact, that at that early period, about the close of the second century, the Bishop of Rome issued authoritative decrees, which were publicly read in the church, and were acknowledged by their opponents to emanate from the highest dignitary claiming authority over the other bishops. Origen, who taught in the famous school of Alexandria in the early part of the third century, in his exposition of Scripture, gives incidental testimony, as "Peter, on whom the Church of Christ is built, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, left one epistle generally admitted." Speaking of the excellence of charity, he remarks, "When the supreme power to feed the sheep was given to Peter, and the Church was founded on him as on the earth, the declaration of no other virtue but that of charity is required of him."§ St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage from 248 to 258, writing to his people to guard them against the delusive promises of the followers of a schismatical priest, Felicissimus, says,—"They now offer peace, who themselves have no peace;

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* De Præscr. sect. 22.

† De Pudicitia, c. 1.

‡ Faber's Difficulties of Romanism.

§ In Ep. ad Rom. iv. n. 10.

they promise to bring back and recall to the Church those that are fallen, who themselves have left the Church. There is one God, and one Christ, and one Church, and one chair founded by the voice of the Lord upon Peter."* In his discourse on the Unity of the Church, the following passages are found in allusion to St. Peter,—" Upon that one individual he builds his Church, and to him he commits his sheep to be fed." " The beginning proceeds from unity, and the Primacy is given to Peter, that the Church of Christ may be shewn to be one, and the chair one." " Does he who deserts the chair of St. Peter presume that he is in the Church ?" Barrow writes, " Cyprian hath a reason for it (the Primacy of St. Peter), somewhat more subtle and mystical, supposing our Lord did confer upon him a preference of this kind to his brethren, who otherwise in power and authority were equal to him, that he might intimate and recommend unity to us; and the other African doctors (Optatus and St. Augustin) do commonly harp on the same notion." Of the works of St. James, bishop of Nisibis in Mesopotamia, who sat at the Council of Nice, we have but a small remnant, in which is found this passage,—" Simon, who was called the Rock, on account of his faith, was justly styled Rock."‡ St. Cyril, who was raised to the see of Jerusalem in the year 340, writes, in his discourses to Catechumens, speaking of the Divinity of Christ,—" Peter, the prince of the Apostles, and the supreme herald of the Church, says to him, 'Thou art the Christ;' not simply this, but, 'the Son of the living God.'" Again, he says elsewhere, " In the same power of the Holy Ghost,§ Peter also, the prince of the Apostles, and the key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven, cured Æneas." St. Basil the Great, archbishop of Cæsarea in the fourth century, calls Peter, " The blessed one who was preferred to the other Apostles, to whom the keys of the kingdom of heaven were entrusted." || His brother, St. Gregory of Nyssa, in allusion to Peter, writes,—" The Church of God is rendered solid in him, for he, according to the prerogative granted him by God, is the firm and solid rock on which the Saviour built his Church." ¶ St. Gregory of Nazianzen, the friend of Basil, says,—" One is called a Rock,

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* Ad Pleb. ep. xliii.

† Supremacy.

‡ Apud Galland. t. v. p. 3. n. 13.

§ Cat. xiv.

|| Procem de Judicio Dei.

¶ Laudatio altera, S. Steph. protom.

and is entrusted with the foundations of the Church."* St. Chrysostom asks,—"Why does he address Peter concerning the sheep, passing by the others? He was the chief of the Apostles, and mouth of the Disciples, and summit of that body. Wherefore Paul also went up to see him in preference to the others . . . . . He gives him the presidency of the brethren." In reference to the question of our Saviour, "What then does Peter, the mouth of all the Apostles, the summit of the whole college? . . . . He alone answers . . . . He elevates the thoughts of Peter, and makes him the Pastor of the Church . . . . . The Father said to Jeremiah, 'I have made thee a pillar of iron, and a wall of brass;' but the Father set him over one nation: Christ placed this man over the entire world."† St. Asterius, bishop of Amasea in Pontus, and a contemporary of St. Chrysostom, expounds the sacred text in a similar manner. "When our Saviour," he says, "was about to sanctify mankind, by subjecting himself, of his own choice, to death, he delivers over to this man the universal Church every where diffused, as a precious deposit, after having asked him thrice, 'Dost thou love me?' and as with great alacrity he replied to the questions by an equal number of protestations, he received the world in charge as one shepherd, one flock, having heard, 'Feed my sheep.' And the Lord gave to those who should come to the faith, the most faithful disciple almost in his own stead, as a father, and lawgiver, and instructor." This is, at once, the strongest and the most endearing view of the Primacy, as established by our Lord in the person of St. Peter. The learned prelate carries the proof on in the same manner through the first five centuries, but my space does not allow me to follow him.

To prove ST. PETER to have been AT ROME, and to have SUFFERED there, Cave says,—"We intrepidly affirm, with all antiquity, that Peter was at Rome, and for some time resided there." Babylon, from which the first letter of St. Peter was written, is understood by learned interpreters, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic, to mean Rome. For a matter of fact, human testimony is entirely sufficient. Clement, bishop of Rome, and contemporary of the Apostles, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, mentions Peter and Paul as suffering martyrdom at Rome under his own eyes. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch about the year 105, writing to the Romans and begging them not to pray against his martyrdom, says,—"I do not command you as Peter and Paul: they were Apostles, I a condemned man." Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, a disciple of John the Apostle, states that Mark related in his Gospel what he had heard from St. Peter at Rome. Irenæus states, that Peter and Paul preached the Gospel at Rome, and established the Church; and he calls this Church "the greatest and most authoritative (or ancient)."* Dionysius of Corinth says, "That both Apostles, Peter and Paul, instructed the Corinthians, and afterwards passing to Italy, having instructed the Romans, consummated their course by martyrdom in their city." Caius, a Roman priest, who lived at the close of the second and beginning of the third century, says,—"I can shew you the trophies of the Apostles: for whether we go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian Way, we shall meet with the trophies of the founder of this Church." Origen also testifies that Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome. That Peter was BISHOP OF ROME, there are proofs incidental and direct. Incidental: Caius, before quoted, speaks of Victor, bishop of Rome, as the thirteenth from Peter; and a contemporary writer says that Peter appointed Linus to succeed him. Hyginus is mentioned as his ninth successor in the chair of Peter; Pius after him. St. Cyprian calls the Roman See, "the place of Peter." Eusebius speaks of Linus as first bishop of the Church of the Romans after the leader Peter. Direct: Optatus of Mela speaks of the establishment of the episcopal chair at Rome by St. Peter as an unquestionable fact, and that Peter himself, the prince of the Apostles, was the first to occupy it. St. Augustin begins the list from St. Peter, to whom Linus succeeded, and continues it down to his own time. That Peter was, strictly speaking, bishop of Rome, is clearly established by these most ancient and respectable witnesses; that Paul was not united with him in the Episcopal office, although he laboured with him in the Apostolic character, is plain from the marked distinction observed by all the ancients, who never give Paul alone the appellation which they frequently give Peter; and from the general most ancient tradition, that there cannot be two bishops of one Church: which was so strongly impressed on the minds of the Roman people, that when Constantine proposed that Liberius and Felix should jointly administer the Church, the faithful protested against the novelty, and cried out, "One God, one Christ, one Bishop."

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* Orat. xxvi. † L. ii. De Sacerdotio.

‡ Orat. in Petrum et Paulum.

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* Apud Euseb. l. ii. c. 15. Hist. Eccl.

From the fact that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, and died such, his SUCCESSORS in that see are HEIRS of his APOSTOLIC AUTHORITY. The powers given to all the Apostles are perpetual in the Church, but the bishops do not severally inherit the plenitude of these powers; each receiving charge of a special flock, and powers subordinate to those of the general ruler of the Church. Although all bishops are, in a qualified sense, successors of the Apostles, no Apostle but Peter has a successor, in the strictest and fullest acceptation of the term, since he alone received the office of general governor, which is essential to the order and existence of the Church in all ages. The Primacy is of divine institution, as the words of our Lord plainly prove, and of divine right it is vested in St. Peter and his successors; and the fact of his occupancy of the Roman See has determined the succession to the Bishops of Rome. Hence we find all the ancient writers speaking of the Roman as the Apostolic See, the head of all the Churches. St. Ignatius, writing to the Romans, addresses his letter "to the Church which presides in the place of the Roman region." This language clearly marks the divinely bestowed privileges and pre-eminence of the Church which presides. St. Irenæus says,—"With this Church, on account of the more powerful principality, it is necessary that every Church, that is the faithful every where, should agree."* St. Cyprian styles the place of Peter "the principal, that is the ruling Church, the root and matrix of the Catholic Church."† In a letter to Cornelius, on the proceedings of certain who had ordained Fortunatus bishop, and then despatched Felicissimus to Rome to make their case good, a "false bishop having been ordained for them by heretics, they venture to set sail, and carry letters from schismatical and profane men to the chair of Peter, and to the ruling Church, whence sacerdotal unity has arisen." The strong language of this passage forced from Bishop Hopkins this avowal,—" Now, here we have certainly a beginning of the doctrine of the Church of Rome; shewing to us how early the bishops of that See endeavoured to secure dominion and supremacy: the influence of their efforts, too, we find first shewing itself in the neighbourhood of Rome; for Carthage, where Cyprian was bishop, lay within a moderate distance from the imperial city. Let it be granted then, that, in the year 220, about a century and a half later than Polycarp, a century later than Irenæus, and fifty years later than Tertullian, the doctrine was partially admitted that Peter had been bishop of Rome, and that the unity of the Church took its rise in the See or diocese of St. Peter;" an unbiassed mind would have perceived in the words of Cyprian the echo of those of Irenæus, and recognised the powerful principality of the ruling chair, and the principle of unity and the safeguard of faith. We cannot satisfactorily account for the extraordinary authority recognised in the Roman clergy during a vacancy of the See, except by the fact that they were regarded as the depositaries *ad interim* of the powers ordinarily exercised over the whole Church by the Roman bishops. St. Cyprian communicated to them the rules which he deemed it advisable to adopt in regard to those who had fallen in persecution, with a view to obtain their approval and confirmation, which they gave in terms complimentary to him, and sufficiently expressive of their own authority. The letter containing their reply, St. Cyprian assures us, " was despatched throughout the whole world, and brought to the knowledge of all the Churches and all the brethren." This surely shews, that the authority of the Church of Rome reached to the utmost limits of the universal Church. The Council of Sardica, in 347, communicate to the Pope their proceedings, saying,—" This seems excellent and most suitable, that the priests of the Lord from the respective provinces should report to the head, that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter." St. Augustin, speaking of Cecilian, the successor of Cyprian in the see of Carthage, says,—" That he might disregard the combined multitude of his enemies, whilst he saw himself united by letters of communion with the Roman Church, in which the Princedom of the Apostolic Chair always flourished."[*] He afterwards alludes to "the chair of the Roman Church, in which Peter sat." Amongst the motives which retained him in the Catholic Church, he enumerates the succession of bishops in St. Peter's chair:—"I am held in the Catholic Church by the succession of bishops from the very See of the Apostle Peter, to whom our Lord, after His resurrection, entrusted His sheep to be fed, down to the present bishop." The imperial influence was often exercised in favour of the Bishop of Constantinople. In 421, Theodosius the Younger issued an edict, giving him cognisance of ecclesiastical causes throughout all the province of Illyricum, alleging that the city of Constantinople enjoys the prerogative of ancient Rome. Honorius, emperor of the West, remonstrated with him on this innovation, prejudicial to the rights of "the Holy Apostolic See." "Doubtless," he writes, "we ought specially to venerate the Church of that city, from which we have received the Roman empire and the priesthood derives its origin." He begs him "to command the ancient order to be observed, lest the Roman Church lose under the empire of the Christian princes what it retained under other emperors.[†] Theodosius yielded to the remonstrances of his colleague and abrogated his decree. In 455, Valentinian issued an imperial decree, in which the Primacy of the Roman See is acknowledged as flowing from the dignity of the Prince of the Apostolic See. "The merit of blessed Peter, who is the prince of the priestly order and the dignity of the Roman city, the authority also of the Holy Synod, strengthened the Primacy of the Apostolic See.[‡]

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* S. Iren. l. iii. c. 3.

† Ep. iv. ad Antonian.

The Roman bishop being successor of St. Peter in the pastoral office, all the sheep of Christ are under his charge; all the bishops, with their respective flocks, constitute the one flock of Christ, under the general pastor, who is consequently the CENTRE OF GENERAL UNITY. St. Cyprian is a witness to the necessity of communion with the see of Peter, which is so strongly asserted by him, that Hallam deems his language more definite than that of Irenæus: "Irenæus," he remarks, "rather vaguely, and Cyprian more positively, admit, or rather assert, the Primacy of the Church of Rome, which the latter seems to have regarded as a kind of centre of Catholic Unity." The letter of Cyprian to the Bishop Antonian was written in consequence of the representations of Novatian, the antipope, having made that bishop waver in his determination to recognise Cornelius. It begins thus,—"I received your first letter, most beloved brother, which firmly maintains the harmony of the Priestly College and the communion of the Catholic Church; inasmuch as you intimate that you hold no communion with Novatian, but that you have followed our counsel, and are in harmony with Cornelius, our fellow-bishop: you also wrote that I should forward a copy of the same letter to Cornelius, our colleague, that he might lay aside all anxiety, knowing that you communicate with him, that is, with the Catholic Church." The Bishop of Rome, at that early day, was the centre or bond of Catholic communion; through him the bishops of every part of Christendom communicated with each other, and thereby formed that Episcopal College of which Cyprian so often speaks, as one in its character, tendency, and spirit. St. Ambrose relates, in praise of his brother Satirus, that on reaching shore after shipwreck he was careful to inquire whether the bishop of the place "agreed in faith with the Catholic bishops, that is, with the Roman Church."* St. Optatus of Mela argues against Parmenian the Donatist,—"You cannot deny, that you know that the Episcopal chair was first established for Peter, in the city of Rome, in which Peter sat, the Head of all the Apostles, whence also he was called Cephas; in which one chair unity might be maintained by all; that the Apostles should not each defend before you his own chair, but that he should be at once a schismatic and a sinner who should erect any other against that one chair."† St. Augustin, addressing also the Donatists, says,—"Come, brethren, if you wish to be ingrafted on the vine, it is a cause of affliction to us to see you lying cut off from it as you are. Count over the bishops from the very see of St. Peter, and see how one succeeded the other, in that list of Fathers. This is the rock against which the proud gates of hell do not prevail." St. Jerome, in the disputed election of bishops at Antioch, writes to Pope Damasus,—"The Church here being split into three parties, each hastens to draw me to itself, the venerable authority of the monks who dwell around assails me; in the mean time I cry aloud, Whoever is united with the chair of Peter is mine." John of Constantinople, in 515, addressing Pope Hormisdas, promised to cancel from the diptychs (the sacred tablets) all who were not in entire harmony with the Apostolic See:—"We promise, that hereafter the names of such as are separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, such as do not in all things harmonise with the Apostolic See, shall not be recited in the celebration of the sacred mysteries."*

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[*] Epist. xliii.

[†] Epist. ix.–xi. apud Constant. t. i. col. 1029, 1030.

[‡] Hallam, Middle Ages, c. 7, p. 270.

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* De Obitu Fratris. † De Schismat. Donat. l. ii.

The part which the Bishops of Rome took in the ANCIENT CONTROVERSIES deserves our attention. Towards the close of the first century, before the death of the Apostle St. John, violent commotions broke out at Corinth; whereupon Clement, bishop of Rome, wrote to the Corinthians, and his letter was so esteemed and venerated, that long afterwards it was wont to be read publicly in the church at Corinth. As the Apostle St. John, then residing at Ephesus, was much nearer to them, and could hope to exercise great personal influence, besides the authority of his office, had not Clement felt it to be his duty, he scarcely would have ventured, in such circumstances, to address the revolters. A difference of discipline, in regard to the time of celebrating Easter, existed from the commencement between the Churches of Asia Minor and the Western Churches: the Eastern Churches alleged the authority of St. John for celebrating it on the same day as the Jews; the Western Churches, especially the Church of Rome, celebrated it on the Sunday following the Jewish feast. Towards the close of the second century, the Western Bishops were unanimous in desiring uniformity. A Roman synod, over which Victor presided, urged the Bishops of Asia to hold synods to bring about the change. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, with a synod in which he presided, persisted in defending the usages of the Asiatic Churches; and Victor either threatened, or, which is the more probable opinion, pronounced sentence of excommunication against them. In the third century, the question arose on the rebaptizing of converts: Cyprian, at the head of the African bishops, approved of the practice in every instance; St. Stephen, bishop of Rome, only in those instances in which the due form of words had not been used; and this practice was according to ancient tradition. Cyprian persisting in his opinion, Stephen refused to receive him into communion, and sent him a command in these terms,—"Let no change be made, contrary to what has been handed down." St. Vincent of Lerius, writing in the fifth century, makes the following reflection on the subject,—"When, therefore, all cried out from all quarters against the novelty, and all priests in every place struggled against it, each according to his zeal, Pope Stephen, of blessed memory, who at that time was Prelate of the Apostolic See (in conjunction, indeed, with his colleagues, but yet more than his colleagues), resisted, thinking it fit, as I suppose, that he should surpass all others in the devotedness of his faith, as much as he excelled them by the authority of his station. Finally, in the epistle which was then sent to Cyprian, he decreed in these words,—"That no innovation should be admitted, but what was handed down should be retained. What power had the African council or decree? None, through the mercy of God."* The Donatists began in a party, who opposed the election of Cecilian, bishop of Carthage, on the ground that he had betrayed the sacred books to the heathen in times of persecution, and sought to induce the Emperor Constantine to second their efforts. Constantine, says St. Augustin, not daring to judge a bishop, committed to bishops the trial and decision of the case; which took place in the city of Rome, Melchiades, bishop of that Church, presiding, with many of his colleagues. The Emperor ordered the parties to sail to Rome, and present themselves before the Bishop of that See, with three bishops of Gaul, as was conformable to the divine law. That Melchiades sat in judgment in his own right, as the highest ecclesiastical judge, appears from the freedom with which he acted, in selecting a number of Italian bishops to assist him in the trial. It had been the wish of the Donatists to induce Constantine to submit the case for examination to the Bishops of Gaul: the Emperor so far yielded as to associate three bishops of that nation, with Melchiades, in judgment; but the pontiff summoned fifteen Italian bishops to unite in hearing the cause. Melchiades pronounced Cecilian innocent. The Donatists appealed to the final judgment of the Emperor, who yielded again and took cognisance of the cause, and confirmed the decision. It is clear, that in the chief controversies of the second, third, and fourth centuries, the authority of the Roman bishops was exercised and admitted. To imagine them interfering in Asia and Africa, and menacing the bishops with excommunication without having any superior authority to them, is to indulge fancy against the evidence of facts.

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* Conc. t. xi. col. 1077.

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* Commonit. c. 8.

We are next to view the Bishops of Rome under the character of GUARDIANS OF THE FAITH. Before the middle of the second century, Valentine, Cerdon, and Marcion came to Rome from the East, and endeavoured to spread there, secretly and publicly, their heresies. The integrity of the Roman faith, protected by its bishops, suffered nothing from their attempts. The Montanist heresy, which prevailed in Asia Minor and Phrygia in the decline of the second century, was condemned by the Pope of the day. The Divinity of Christ has been triumphantly maintained in all ages, by the successors of Peter, against the subtle errors by which it has, from time to time, been assailed. At the close of the second century, Theodotus of Byzantium alleged Christ to be but man. Victor cut him off from the communion of the Church. Zephyrinus, who succeeded him, admitted to communion Artemon, a bishop of the sect, only after a public abjuration of his profane error: "clothed with sackcloth, with ashes sprinkled on his head, and with tears in his eyes, he cast himself at the feet of the Bishop Zephyrinus, and with difficulty was received to communion." When errors were condemned by local bishops, the confirmation of Rome was sought to give authority to the sentence. Origen was condemned by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria; and Jerome remarks, "Rome consented to the condemnation." Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, fell under suspicion of entertaining erroneous opinions in regard to the Divinity of Christ: he was accused before his namesake, the Bishop of Rome. The accused prelate did not question the authority of the tribunal, but sent a satisfactory exposition of his faith.* In the violent and long struggles with Arianism in all its forms, the Holy See was the constant defender of the Nicene faith. In the fourth century, Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost: the Bishop of the city of Rome, says Sozomen, "being informed of it, wrote to the Churches of the East, that with the Western Bishops they should confess the consubstantial Trinity equal in power and glory. All acquiesced in this, the controversy being terminated by the judgment of the Roman Church."† Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, in the decline of the fourth century, denied that the Divine Word had assumed a human soul. Damasus, bishop of Rome, was the first to condemn the error, as Sozomen testifies. The authority of the Apostolic See was constantly involved in all the controversies which in the fourth and fifth centuries agitated the East, about the great mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation. The Bishops of Africa had recourse to the Holy See, to obtain the confirmation of their decrees against the subtle heresy of Pelagius and Celestius. A council held at Mela, in 416, in which St. Augustin bore a conspicuous part, addressed Innocent to this effect,—"We think that, through the mercy of the Lord our God, who vouchsafes both to direct your councils and to hear your prayers, those who entertain such perverse and pernicious opinions will readily assent to the authority of your Holiness, derived from the authority of the divine Scriptures, so that we may have occasion rather of gratulation at their correction than of sorrow at their ruin." ‡ The Pope issued thereupon an authoritative decree, in reference to which Augustin cried to the Pelagians,—"Do you still demand an investigation, which has taken place at the Apostolic See? The rescripts from thence have reached us; the cause is decided; would to Heaven the error were for ever abandoned!" Elsewhere he writes,—"The authority of Catholic councils and of the Apostolic See have most justly condemned the recent Pelagian heretics. All doubt," he says, "was removed by the rescript of Innocent."

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* Athanasius, De Sent. Dionys. Alex. p. 345.

† L. vi. c. 22.

‡ St. Augustin, Epist. 176.

In the fifth century, Pope Celestine addressed Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, who denied that the Second Person is at once true God and true man, an authoritative letter. "Know," he wrote, "that this is our decree: that unless you preach concerning Christ our God what the Churches of Rome and of Alexandria, and the whole Catholic Church hold, and which the Holy Church of the great city of Constantinople has held steadfastly unto your time; and unless, by an explicit confession in writing, you condemn this perfidious novelty, which attempts to separate what the Holy Scriptures unite; you are cast forth from the communion of the entire Catholic Church." At the same time, the Pope wrote to Cyril, directing him to act as his Vicar, and use the authority of the Apostolic See, together with his own; charging him most strictly to execute the sentence of excommunication, if within the time specified Nestorius did not retract. The Pope's legates were present in the Council of Ephesus, which condemned Nestorius and pronounced sentence of deposition; in the preamble to which are these words,—"It is not doubted by any one, but rather has it been well known in all ages, that the holy and most blessed Peter, the prince and head of the Apostles, the pillar of faith, and foundation of the Catholic Church, received from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind, the keys of the kingdom; and to him was given power to bind and to loose sins: who down to the present time, and for ever in his successors, lives and judges." The bishops who composed this venerable assembly were, with the exception of the Roman legates, Oriental and African; yet they heard without a murmur of contradiction the strong assertions of the legates, they submitted their acts to them for confirmation, and they declared themselves constrained to execute the sentence of Celestine against Nestorius.

The words of our Lord to Peter denote the most ample power—the government of his kingdom without any restriction; yet there is necessarily implied subordination to his divine will, and a limitation of the power to the maintenance of truth, virtue, order, and unity. The Bishop of Rome was regarded as the GOVERNOR of the UNIVERSAL CHURCH; and his instructions were sought after by bishops throughout the world, and his orders were everywhere respected. It is impossible to mistake the tone of the letters which have come down to us, marked with the impress of authority. Victor and Stephen acted as persons having authority over the African and Asiatic Churches, and menaced the refractory with excommunication, the highest penalty which the Church can inflict. Pope Siricius replying, in the year 385, to the consultation of Himerius, bishop of Tarragona in Spain, says,—"We bear the burdens of all who are heavily laden, or, rather, the blessed Apostle Peter bears them in us; and, as we trust, in all things protects and defends us the heirs of his authority." In another part of this document these expressions are found,—"By a general enactment we decree what hereafter must be followed, and what must be shunned, by all Churches." The decree is ordered to be communicated to all the bishops, not only of the diocese of Tarragona, but also of Carthage, Bætia, Lusitania, Gallicia, and other neighbouring provinces, that none may plead ignorance:—"none of the priests of the Lord are at liberty to be ignorant of the decrees of the Apostolic See,* or the venerable definitions of the canons." It cannot be questioned but that Siricius acted as one having full authority over all bishops, and that he claimed this power as successor of St. Peter. The like language is observable in all the ancient pontifical decrees. A dispensing power, whereby the rigour of the canon was mitigated, was also exercised from the earliest ages. Leo allowed Donatus, bishop of Salicina, to retain his see on abjuring Novatianism. Maximus, advanced from the condition of a layman to the bishopric among the Donatists, was allowed by the Pope to retain his see on abjuring his errors.† Besides positive acts of authority enumerated, the answers of the Pope to the consultation of the bishops from every quarter, shew that he was superior to them,—all looked up to him for guidance. St. Jerome testifies that when at Rome, during the pontificate of Damasus, he was constantly engaged by his order in answering the synodical consultations that poured in from the East and West. It cannot be thought for a moment, that in rejecting the title of Universal Bishop, the great Gregory disclaimed any superior authority in himself, as successor of

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* Apud Constant. t. i. col. 623.

† Epist. xii. ad Episc. Afric. prov. Maurit. Cæsar.

St. Peter, since he affirmed the contrary in the most positive terms, and exercised, in the most marked manner, the power of a ruler over the whole Church. When Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, broke in pieces a sacred image, as an occasion of superstition, and thereby shocked the feelings of the faithful, Gregory sent a special messenger, and wrote to admonish him, that the excess or abuse should be corrected without taking sacred images from the churches, where they served as books for the unlearned. On a complaint of excessive lenity towards a licentious priest, the same prelate was subjected to such punishment as the Bishop of Arles should inflict. Gregory enjoined the councils of Byzacium in Africa to investigate the charges against their primate, and proceed as justice might require. He directed the Bishop of Numidia, in conjunction with other bishops, to examine the complaints of the clergy against Paulinus, bishop of Tegessis, and authorised Hilary his notary to be present at the trial. Hearing that simoniacal abuses existed in the Church of Alexandria, he exhorted the bishop of that see to abolish them without delay; and a similar charge he addressed to the Bishop of Jerusalem.

Nothing is clearer in the history of the Church than the DISTINCTIONS OF RANK among her prelates, as Metropolitans, Primates, and Patriarchs. The Roman bishop was first among the patriarchs, uniting, with his general superintendence over the whole Church, a special jurisdiction over the dioceses of the West, viz. Illyricum, Italy, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Africa Proper. The Bishop of Alexandria exercised patriarchal jurisdiction in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, and occupied the second place in the hierarchy. The Bishop of Antioch was third in dignity, and enjoyed plenary jurisdiction throughout the East. The Bishop of Rome sustained the patriarchs in their sees, and lent the aid of his authority to maintain their rights. When Athanasius had been restored to his see, conformably to the sentence of Julius and of the Council of Sardica, the Pope wrote to the faithful of Alexandria, to congratulate them on the success of their prayers. Peter, who had been forced to flee from his see, and had taken refuge in Rome, returned to Alexandria in the year 378, bringing with him a letter of recommendation from Pope Damasus. John Talaja, in the following century, sought to be confirmed by the Pope in the see of Alexandria, as Simplicius affirms in his letter to Acacius, "that the succession of a Catholic bishop to the ministry of the deceased might derive strength from the assent of the Apostolic authority." Pope Leo wrote to Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, to correct some usages not in harmony with the traditions of the Roman Church. The Church of Antioch also depended on the See of Peter. "It is customary," says Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, "conformably with Apostolic order and tradition, that the See of Antioch should be directed by the See of the great Rome, and should be judged by it." When the Bishop of Constantinople claimed patriarchal authority, it became customary to communicate his ordination to the Holy See by a formal embassy: this custom was considered obligatory; wherefore Pope Hormisdas required Epiphanius, bishop of that See, to comply with it, and would not be contented with a mere letter of information. Pope Boniface, in the year 422, states "that the greatest Oriental Churches, in great affairs, which needed greater discussion, always consulted the Roman See; and, when the case required it, sought its aid." St. Basil of Cæsarea did so. Addressing Damasus, bishop of Rome, he styles him "most honoured Father;" "being disappointed (he writes) in our expectations, and unable to bear our grief any longer, we have resolved to write, and urge you to come to our relief."* The Roman bishop does not appear to have interfered in the election of the patriarchs, or of bishops within their jurisdiction. In the Western patriarchate he constituted the first bishops. "It is manifest," says Innocent I., "that no one founded Churches throughout all Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Sicily, and the adjacent islands, except those whom the venerable Peter, or his successors, ordained priests." Bede traces to the same source the origin of the ancient British Church, stating that in the decline of the second century King Lucius sent to Eleutherius, the bishop of Rome, to ask for instructions in the Christian law; from which time there was a succession of bishops down to Augustin. In 429, Pope Celestine sent Germanus, bishop of Autun, as his vicar, into Britain, to oppose the Pelagian errors; he likewise ordained Palladius bishop for the Scotch. Gregory the Great extended the authority of Augustin over the British bishops: to this pontiff is due the organisation of the Anglo-Saxon Church. He gave to Augustin the pallium, first given to the Bishop of Ostia in 336, as the Pope's consecrator. In the sixth century several instances occur of its concession to various prelates, and Gregory the Great speaks of it as an immemorial usage. From his time this emblem of authority was granted by the Pope to the English metropolitans.

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* Epist. l. xx.

The independence of the ancient British Church is claimed chiefly on the authority of an address said to have been made by the Abbot Dinoth to St. Augustin, at an interview with the British prelates. In the first place, this document has no voucher for its authenticity. 1. Spelman was the first to produce it in 1639, copied from what he calls an old manuscript in the possession of a Welsh gentleman, named P. Moston. (Mostyn?) He avows that he cannot say by whom, or at what time, it was written; his belief is, that it was copied from a more ancient manuscript. 2. He says that he copied the Welsh, and the interlinear English translation, without changing an iota; the English, however, differs only from modern spelling in two words, "helpe," and "spirituall." 3. Spelman thought that the original manuscript was in the Cotton library; and Wilkins, in reproducing Dinoth's answer a century later, quotes one of the Cotton manuscripts: still not a word about its author, its appearance, its date, or any one circumstance that would throw light on its authenticity. Wilkins quotes Spelman's description and reasoning at full length. Secondly, it bears evident marks of being spurious. 1. Dinoth would not have addressed St. Augustin in Welsh, which he did not understand; the Abbot of Bangor would have spoken in Latin. 2. Persons acquainted with the Welsh language appear to have admitted that the language of the piece is modern: the word "helpio," (to help) evidently from the Saxon, betrays a later date; the word "paab" (or pope) is used as if that title were then given exclusively to the Bishop of Rome by all, which was not the case till a century after. The dignity designated by the word Pope now, was expressed by other words in ancient times. Thirdly, there is a glaring anachronism in the document. The Bishop of Caerleon is spoken of as the metropolitan of the Britons; but the archiepiscopal see was removed from that place more than eighty years before the interview in question: it was transferred to Llandaff in 512, and to Menevia in 519. Fourthly, Bede must have known nothing of it, otherwise he would have mentioned it. Fifthly, Fuller's evidence, who wrote in 1656, seventeen years after the document was first produced by Spelman, is unfavourable; he introduces it to his readers with the pithy remark,—"Let it shift for itself for its authenticalness," and next he admits "that the Welsh is far later than the days of Abbot Dinoth, and the English added in the original later than the Welsh." The Latin, on which he relies, is Spelman's own rendering. This being the character of the evidence offered, it is clear that there is no solid ground for believing that the ancient Britons claimed any such independence as is now asserted.

Milan was an archiepiscopal city, with nineteen suffragans, yet it depended on Rome to ratify the election of the bishop. Gregory the Great rejected the person nominated for that see by Agiluph, king of the Lombards, and conferred the election on Deusdedit. In Greece, as well as in Italy, the Pope exercised his authority. Boniface I. appointed Perigenes bishop of Corinth. Some bishops resisted this exercise of authority; but the Pope insisted that the act of the Holy See should not be called in question. Barrow acknowledges, that in the fourth century the Pope bestowed the title of Vicar on various bishops: "The Popes, indeed, in the fourth century, began to confer on certain bishops, as occasion served, or for continuance, the title of their Vicar or Lieutenant, thereby claiming to impart authority to them, whereby they were enabled for performance of divers things, which otherwise, by their own episcopal or metropolitan power, they could not perform. Thus did Pope Celestine constitute Cyril in his room. Pope Leo appointed Anatolius of Constantinople; Pope Felix, Acacius of Constantinople; Pope Hormisdas, Epiphanius of Constantinople, &c.: afterwards temporary or occasional vicars were appointed, such as Austin in England, and Boniface in Germany."

The power of suspending bishops from the exercise of their functions, or of removing them altogether from the ministry, is among the most awful and sublime functions of the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries. This power was at all times exercised by the Roman bishop in a manner to leave no room for doubt that he claimed authority to judge and punish by DEPOSITION all bishops, even the patriarchs themselves, and that he grounds his claims on his office as successor of St. Peter. In the third century, Archbishop Potter writes that "three bishops, who ordained Novatian, the schismatic bishop, or Antipope, were deposed, and others ordained to succeed them, by Cornelius, bishop of Rome, whose proceedings in this matter were generally approved all over the world." In the fourth century, Pope Damasus deposed Ursacius and Valens, and received the thanks of Athanasius, who urged him to proceed to the deposition of Auxentius, the Arian occupant of the see of Milan. The Council of Chalcedon in deposing Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, professed to act in the name of Pope Leo. "The most holy and blessed Leo, archbishop of Great and Elder Rome, by us, and by the present holy Synod, has stript him of the dignity of the episcopate." Sixtus III. deposed Polychronius, bishop of Jerusalem. Peter Mongus, bishop of Alexandria, was excommunicated by Pope Simplicius. Peter Cnapheus, bishop of Antioch, was admonished by Felix, and finally struck by anathema and deposed. Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, was summoned by the same pontiff to answer in the assembly of bishops to St. Peter, to whom, in the person of Felix, the accusation was made; he was ultimately condemned and deposed. Acacius had previously accepted and executed a commission from the Holy See, for the deposition of several bishops. Gelasius writes in 493, "Timothy of Alexandria, and Peter of Antioch, Peter, Paul, and John, and others,—not one only, but several bearing the priestly title,—were cast down by the sole authority of the Apostolic See. Of this fact Acacius himself is witness, since he was charged with the execution of the sentence. In this manner, then, falling into the company of those who have been condemned, Acacius is condemned." In all courts there is a tribunal of appeal, whose judgment is fixed.

The usage of APPEALING to the Bishop of Rome from the judgment and censure of bishops and councils in every part of the Church is of the highest antiquity, and shews that he was believed to possess a power superior to all other bishops. In the year 141, Marcian having been excommunicated by his father, the bishop of Sinope, for a grievous sin against chastity, fled to Rome, and sought to be restored to communion. The chief clergy (the See being vacant) declared that, without the consent of his father, they could not grant him relief, being united with him in faith and friendship. The journey and the application shew that the superior power of Rome was recognized. The refusal proves that the clergy had reason to believe that the father was not severe without necessity. In the third century Basilides, bishop of Legion and Asturica, deposed on the charge of idolatry, repaired to Rome to plead his cause, and succeeded in inducing Pope Stephen to restore him. In the fourth century St. Athanasius, in person, appealed from the sentence of the Council of Antioch to the Bishop of Rome. In the Council of Sardica, held a few years after that of Nice, Osius proposed, "If any bishop be condemned in any cause, and think that his cause is good, and that a trial should again take place, if it meet your approbation, let us honour the memory of the Holy Apostle St. Peter, and let those who investigated the case write to the Roman bishop; and if he judge that a new trial be granted, let it be granted, and let him appoint judges: but if he judge that the case is such that the proceedings should not be called in question, they shall be confirmed. Is this the will of all? The synod answered, It is our will." Gaudentius, a bishop, then proposed an amendment, that, should an appeal be lodged to Rome, no bishop should be ordained in place of the deposed prelate, which was agreed to. Their canons were adopted by the Council, and report was made of the whole proceedings to Julius, the actual Bishop of Rome, in a synodical letter; in which the Fathers say,—"This will seem to be excellent and most suitable, if the priests of the Lord report to the head, that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter, from the several provinces." Socrates relates,—"At the same time (when Athanasius arrived) Paul, also the bishop of Constantinople, Asclepas of Gaza, Marcellus of Ancyra, a city of Lesser Galatia, and Lucius of Adrianople, each accused of a different offence, and driven from their Churches, reach the imperial city. When they had stated their case to Julius, bishop of the Roman city, he, according to the prerogative of the Roman Church, sent them back into the East, bearing with them strong letters, and restored them to their sees, and severely rebuked those who had rashly deposed them." Sozomen, the

Greek historian, speaking of the same bishops, says,—"The Roman bishop having taken cognizance of the cases of each of them, and finding them all to harmonize in the Nicene faith, admitted them to his communion; and since, on account of the dignity of his See, the care of all belonged to him, he restored each one to his Church." St. Basil, writing of Eustathius of Sebaste, a deposed bishop, who had appealed to and been reinstated by the Pope, says,—"What things were proposed to him by the most blessed Liberius, and what he consented to, we know not; but he brought back with him a letter, reinstating him; which being presented to the Synod of Tyana, he was restored to his place." St. Chrysostom sent to Pope Innocent an embassy, consisting of four bishops and two deacons, to state plainly and clearly all the wrongs which he had suffered, and to obtain redress without delay. Flavian, archbishop of Constantinople, being unjustly condemned in the Council of Ephesus, put into the hands of the apostolic legates an appeal against the iniquitous sentence. Theodoret, bishop of Cyr, condemned by the same council, also appealed. Barrow relates numerous cases of appeal: it is unnecessary to cite his words, as they chiefly recapitulate the names already given. The authority of the Holy See to receive appeals from any quarter of the Church was strongly asserted by Pope Gelasius at the close of the fifth century. To the Bishops of Dardania he wrote thus,—"The whole Church throughout the world knows that the See of Blessed Peter the Apostle has the right to loose what has been bound by the sentences of any bishop, since it has power to judge every Church." The life of Wilfrid—so beautifully told by him who with master hand swept the chords of poesy, once a watchman on the towers of our Zion, now, sad to write, in arms against us—the life of Wilfrid is almost one long struggle in defence of the privilege of appeal; he succeeded at the last, and the right of the Pope was acknowledged in England as in every other part of Christendom.

I have brought to a close the argument on the Roman side. It is taken almost word for word from Bishop Kenrick's Treatise; and while, reader, you may blame, and with justice, the unskilfulness shewn in the selection and arrangement of my materials, I hope that you will not lay unfairness at my door. I assure you, that if I have omitted any strong reason, it has been for want of space, not for want of inclination, to insert it. After I shall have gone through the argument on the Anglican side, I shall have opportunity to state my own views on the subject; but I cannot close the present chapter without adding a few words.

There never was a succession of rulers through many centuries whose conduct has been so rigidly scrutinised, so severely arraigned, as that of the Bishops of Rome; against them our calmer reason and more excited feelings, our glowing passions and strong prejudices, have been unitedly enlisted; while the sanctions of religion, the authority of Scripture, and the voice of God, have been invoked to concur in the condemnation. This notwithstanding, without the least desire to extenuate the deep corruption, every particle of which has been held up to the light of day, or to throw a veil over the history of those Pontiffs whose flagitious lives have been the theme of universal execration; still, I do assert that the evil bears a very small proportion to the preponderating weight of good which the Popes have rendered to Christendom. They may, without right or warrant, have assumed lofty and arrogant titles; they may have stood erect before the majesty of kings, and humbled the pride of princes; but, save in those evil days before the Reformation, they proved themselves the true friends of the people. With these exceptions, they studied the temporal not less than the eternal good of the great mass of mankind, whom the rich neglect and the great oppress, but whom God, who is no respecter of persons, looks upon with equal regard; and whom it consequently became the especial duty of those who, rightly or wrongly, believed themselves to be his Vicegerents upon earth, to consider and protect. The triple crown, unlike the diadem of earthly princes, shone afar to brighten the countenances and to cheer the hearts of the persecuted and the helpless. Men felt,—and oh, what comfort in the thought!—that there was at least one throne "established in righteousness." "A strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress, a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat, when the blast of the terrible ones was as a storm against the wall;" that there was —to accept a Protestant interpretation of Scripture, but to put upon it I mean, only on the words I cite, a truer and more Christian sense,—"one as God, sitting in the temple of God, shewing himself that he was God," clothed with the benign and gentle attributes of Divinity, "gracious and merciful, slow to anger, of great kindness." And be it that sometimes the thunders of excommunication rolled, and the lightnings flashed, winged messengers of merely human passions and sordid interests, more often far they sped on their errand to eyes that would not see, and to ears which would not hear, and to a heart that would not understand,—to the despot intoxicated with power or steeped in voluptuousness, to warn him of the great and terrible day of the Lord; in the sentence which brought humiliation home, even to his imperious spirit,—in the horror with which all shrank from him, the minions of his pleasure, the slaves of his will, and the parasites of his sins, to anticipate in mercy to his polluted but immortal soul, the day and hour, if by timely repentance he failed to avert the stroke, at which, thus trembling and alone, he should stand self-condemned before the judgment-seat of Christ.

One word more. With all our boasted light and civilisation we have been,—reader, you may fling down the book if you will!—barbarians almost to this very hour, in believing that the greatness of a nation consists in the extent of its territory, the diffusion of its commerce, the factories that cover its land; in imposing figures of exports and imports, in silver and in gold; and not in the social, moral, and religious welfare and happiness of the aggregate of individuals of which the nation is composed. Awakening now to a better mind, to a truer appreciation of our duty as citizens and our glory as a people, we should take no harm, were we, diverting our attention from the pages of political economists, and the devices of modern statesmen, to ponder, in a teachable disposition and with an unprejudiced mind, on the profound wisdom, the fervent charity, the exquisitely delicate consideration, the God-like energy that, even in the worst of times, characterised the gigantic yet unassuming efforts for the amelioration of mankind of those who were once in reality, now in name, yet, I dare hope, ere long, to be in reality again, the nursing fathers of the Universal Church.

CHAPTER III.

ARGUMENT AGAINST SUPREMACY.

Argument on Anglican side—Authors quoted—Barrow on the "Supremacy of the Pope"—Allies' "Church of England not in Schism"—Pereira's "Tentativa Theologica"—Bishop Hopkins "on Church of Rome"—Stillingfleet's "Origines Britannicæ"—Bloomfield's "Annotations"—Adam Clarke's "Commentary," &c.—Rights of the Episcopate to be preserved.

I THINK it very possible, my reader,—if I use a tone of freedom, forgive me: I begin to fancy myself quite at home with you,—I think it very possible, particularly if you are, as most likely, Protestant, that when I assured you that I had put the argument on the Roman side as strongly as I could, that you said within yourself, "No doubt of that;" but that now, when it becomes my duty to state the argument on the Anglican side, you are minded to watch me with a very jealous and distrustful eye, not unreasonably considering it extremely probable that with, as you think, that most unhappy bias of mine, the Anglican argument will cut but a poor figure under my hands. In this notion you will do me an injustice. To the higher qualifications of authorship I make no pretensions; I write my best, and can do no more: but I certainly hope that you will always find me honest. In the Roman argument I mainly relied on the authority of one book; in the Anglican, I shall use several books. In the last chapter I marked the divisions of the subject by paragraphs and capitals; these will be my guide in the present chapter. The merits of the question will, I think, be best understood by re-arguing, on the Protestant side, the points which have been already insisted on on the Roman Catholic side. The first is the PROMISE OF THE PRIMACY, supposed to be founded on Matthew xvi. 13, and following verses,—"When Jesus came into the coasts of Cæsarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am? And they said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." "Here," (I am citing the words of the learned Barrow) "say the Roman Catholics, St. Peter is declared the foundation, that is, the sole supreme governor, of the Church. To this I answer, that these words do not clearly signify any thing to their purpose: for they are metaphorical, and thence ambiguous or capable of divers interpretations; whence they cannot suffice to ground so main a point of doctrine, or to warrant so large a claim: these ought to stand upon downright evident and indubitable testimony." It will be proper that I should state that this great champion of our Church, and distinguished ornament of the University of which I had once the honour to be a member, assumes four primacies,—a primacy of worth, a primacy of reputation, a primacy of order, and a primacy of power and jurisdiction: the first three he grants to Peter; the fourth he denies. "'Upon the rock,' saith the prince of interpreters (St. Chrysostom), 'that is, upon the faith of his profession;' and again, 'Christ said that he would build his Church on Peter's confession;' and again, he or another ancient writer under his name, 'Upon this rock, he said, not upon Peter; for he did not build his Church upon the man, but upon his faith.' Others say, that St. Peter did not speak for himself, but in the name of all the Apostles, and of all faithful people. The divines, schoolmen, and canonists of the Roman communion do not also agree in the exposition of the words; and divers of the most learned among them do approve of the interpretation of St. Chrysostom."*

Bloomfield upon the point, and I give his words entire, writes,—"Here there has been much diversity of opinion;

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* Barrow on Supremacy.

most of the ancient Fathers, and some modern commentators of credit, as Beza, Erasmus, Glassius, and Lightfoot, explain it of the confession or profession of faith here avowed by Peter. Others suppose that Jesus pointed with his finger towards himself; thereby indicating himself as the great foundation. So, besides some of the ancient Fathers, Augustin, Schoett, Witsius, Schultz, Bede, Georgius, Febroni, Chemnitz, and especially Olearius, Wolf, and Fabricius; this opinion has, however, been ably refuted by others, and especially Whitby, to whom I refer the reader, and who proves that it must be understood of Peter; and no doubt the words were accompanied by a corresponding action, which indicated Peter to be meant. The Roman Catholics allege the next words of our Lord, spoken in sequel upon the same occasion, —'To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven;' 'that is,' say they, 'the supreme power over all the Church: for he,' say they, 'that hath the keys, is the master of the house.' To this testimony we may answer, first, that these words are figurate, and therefore not clear enough to prove their assertion; secondly, that they do admit, and have received, various interpretations; thirdly, it is evident that the Apostles themselves did not understand these words as importing a supremacy over them—that St. Peter himself did not apprehend this sense—that our Lord, upon occasion inviting to it, did not take notice of his promise according thereto; fourthly, that the words, 'I will give thee,' cannot anywise be assumed to have been exclusive of others, or appropriated to him. He said, as a very learned man of the Roman communion noteth, to Peter, 'I will give thee the keys;' but he said not, I will give them to thee alone: Nothing, therefore, can be concluded from them to their purpose. The words, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,' do import a power or privilege, soon after expressly, and in the very same words, promised or granted to all the Apostles; as also the same power, in other words, was by our Lord conferred on them all, after the resurrection: if, therefore, the keys of the kingdom do import supreme power, then each Apostle had supreme power."

On the "keys," Bloomfield, apparently quoting Dr. Maltby, the present learned, amiable, and, by a rule which prelates of that see seem all to observe, munificent Bishop of Durham, writes thus,—"To confer the keys of the kingdom of heaven on any, is to invest him with authority therein for the promotion of its establishment and preservation. Now in this situation Peter was placed, by the strenuous efforts he made, and the conspicuous part he acted, after Christ's ascension, and the effusion of the Holy Spirit (through whom also the Gentiles were first admitted to a participation in the privileges of the Gospel); he emphatically unlocked the doors of the kingdom of heaven." Upon the power "to bind and loose," Bloomfield, after giving at too great a length for my pages the opinion of the Bishop of Durham, and others, concludes,—"After mature deliberation I do not hesitate to admit, with some slight modifications, the interpretation of Lightfoot and Selden, which was embraced by Hammond, Wagensell, Campbell, Vitringa, Whitby, Limborch, Schleusner, and Kuinoel. Δέειν, in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Rabbinical writings, signifies to forbid; λύειν, denotes to pronounce lawful, concede, permit, direct, constitute, &c. This clause of the sentence may be rendered, 'Whatsoever thou shalt declare lawful, and constitute in the Church, shall be ratified, and held good with God.' That the above powers were exercised by Peter, in conjunction with the other Apostles, is indisputable. We need only advert to the decision of the Council held at Jerusalem, when nearly the whole of the Mosaic ritual law was loosed, given up, and abrogated; but part was bound, and still held obligatory: in truth, the terms in question are so comprehensive, that they may well include all the measures pursued by the Apostles for the establishment and ordinary regulation of the Church, even binding and loosing in another and more figurative sense—that is, condemning and absolving; a power which we know was bestowed, from the words of John, xx. 23,—'Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.' The Roman Catholics argue this primacy from the constant placing Peter's name before the other Apostles, in the catalogues and narrations concerning him and them. To this I answer, first, that this order is not so strictly observed as not to admit some exceptions, for St. Paul speaks of 'James, Cephas, and John;' again, 'as the other Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas;' and, 'Philip,' saith St. John, 'was of the city of Andrew and Peter;' secondly, but it being indeed so constant as not to seem casual, I farther say, that position of names doth not argue difference of degree or superiority in power; any small advantage of age, standing, merit, or wealth, serving to ground such precedence, as common experience doth shew."

Barrow says nothing on the text Luke, xxii. 32,—"I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." As he usually meets objection in a very straightforward way, I presume that we must infer that he did not think this passage much to the purpose. In the valuable Commentary of Dr. Adam Clarke, an eminent disciple of John Wesley, I find the following paraphrase, taken partly from Lightfoot,—"I have prayed for thee; and from the natural forwardness and impetuosity of thine own spirit, thou wilt be brought into the most imminent danger: but I have supplicated for thee, that thy faith may not utterly fail (which is the full sense of the original word). Peter's faith did fail, but not utterly; he did fall, but he did not fall off, apostatise, or forsake his Master and his cause finally, as Judas did. Every body sees, from Peter's denial of his Lord, that his faith did fail; and his great courage, too; and yet they read in the common translation that Christ prayed that it might not fail. Can they, then, conceive that our Lord's prayer was heard? The translation which has been given above removes this embarrassment and apparent contradiction: it was certainly Peter's advantage that our Lord did pray for him; but it was not so much for his honour that he should stand in need of such a prayer beyond all others.

"'When thou art converted,' restored to a sense of thy folly and sin, and to me and my cause, 'establish thou thy brethren.' All the disciples forsook Jesus and fled, merely through fear of losing their lives. Peter, who continued for a while near him, denied his Master with oaths, and repeated this thrice. Our Lord seems to intimate, that after his fall Peter would become more cautious and circumspect than ever, and that he should become uncommonly strong in the faith, which was the case; and that, notwithstanding the baseness of his past conduct, he should be a proper instrument for strengthening the feebleminded and supporting the weak: his two epistles to the persecuted Christians shew how well he was qualified for this important work."

The next point is the INSTITUTION OF THE PRIMACY, supposed to have been conveyed in John xxi.,—"So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs. He saith to him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep. He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep." "The Roman Catholics produce these words of our Saviour, 'Feed my sheep:' that is, in the Roman interpretation, 'Be thou universal Governor of my Church.' To this allegation it is answered,—first, that from words which truly and properly might be said to any Apostle, yea, to any Christian pastor whatever, nothing can be concluded to their purpose, imputing a peculiar duty or singular privilege of St. Peter; secondly, from indefinite words a definite conclusion (especially in matters of this kind) may not be inferred. It is said, 'Do thou feed my sheep:' it is not said, Do thou alone feed all my sheep; this is their gloss, or improvement of the text, without succour whereof the words signify nothing to their purpose, so far are they from sufficiently assuming so vast a claim: for instance, when St. Paul doth exhort the bishops at Ephesus to feed the Church of God, may it thence be collected that each of them was an universal governor of the whole Church 'which Christ had purchased with his own blood?' Thirdly, by these words no new power is (assuredly at least) granted or instituted by our Lord; for the Apostles before this had their warrant and authority consigned to them, when our Lord did inspire them, and solemnly commission them, saying, 'As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you;' to which commission these words (spoken occasionally before a few of the disciples) did not add or derogate. Fourthly, these words do not seem institutive or collative of power, but rather only admonitive or exhortative to duty;

implying no more but the pressing a common duty, before incumbent on St. Peter, upon a special occasion, in an advantageous season, that he should effectually discharge the office which our Lord had committed to him. Our Lord, I say, presently before his departure, when his words were like to have a strong impression on St. Peter, doth earnestly direct and warn him to express that special ardency of affection which he observed in him, in an answerable care to perform his duty of feeding, that is, of instructing, guiding, edifying, in faith and obedience, those sheep of his; that is, those believers who should be converted to embrace his religion, as ever he should find opportunity."* In Bloomfield I find an observation by Beza, "that it was only just that Peter should wipe away the stain of his triple denial by a triple confession;" and an extract from a sermon by Archbishop Laud,—"It is truly though quaintly observed by Archbishop Laud, in his Seven Sermons, No. 3. 'They must not think to choke us with the wool that grows upon *Pasce oves*, which as the fathers have diversely spun out, so no one of them comes home to the clothing of Rome with such a large robe of state as she challengeth." Bloomfield, who seems, as we shall see, to own a Primacy in a modified sense, concludes,—"Why, it may be asked, is the primacy given to Peter? Because (says Tittman) Peter was to be the first who should preach Christ and found the Christian Church; for that reason our Lord called him the rock on which he should build his Church, and which no force should avail to subvert. But such and so constant a follower of Christ, teacher and defender of the Church, Peter seemed not to have hitherto approved himself, since he had not only deserted his Lord, but denied him. To wipe out this stain, and to evince his love for Peter, and his confidence in his zeal and future fidelity, was our Lord's present purpose. We are not, however, to recognise an absolute primacy over all the other apostles and teachers; for the very same care of the Church that he enjoined on Peter, he also committed (as we have before observed) to the other Apostles."

We are to consider next, the supposed EXERCISE OF THE PRIMACY. "In the Apostolical history, the proper place for exercising this power, no footsteps thereof doth appear. We cannot there discern that St. Peter did assume any extraordinary authority, or that any deference by his brethren was rendered to him, as to their governor or judge. In the designation of a new Apostle to supply the place of Judas, he did indeed suggest the matter and lay the case before them; he first declared his sense; but the whole company did choose two, and referred the determination of one to lot, or to God's arbitration. In that important transaction about the observance of Mosaical institutions, a great stir and debate being started, which St. Paul and Barnabas by disputation could not appease, what course was then taken? Did they appeal to St. Peter, as to the supreme dictator and judge of controversies? Not so; but they sent to the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem to inquire about the question. When these great messengers were arrived there, they were received by the Church, and the Apostles and Elders; and, having made their report, the Apostles and Elders did assemble to consider about that matter. In this assembly, after much debate passed, and that many had freely uttered their sense, St. Peter rose up, with apostolical gravity, declaring what his reason and experience did suggest conducing to a resolution of the point, whereto his words might indeed be much available, grounded not only upon common reason, but upon special revelation concerning the case; whereupon St. James, alleging that revelation, and backing it with reason drawn from Scripture, with much authority pronounceth his judgment. Now in all this action (in this leading precedent for the management of things in ecclesiastical synods and consistories), where can the sharpest sight descry any mark of distinction or preeminence which St. Peter hath in respect to the other Apostles? What authority did he claim or use before that assembly, or in it, or after it? Did he summon or convocate it?—No: they met upon common agreement. Did he preside there?—No; but rather St. James. Did he more than use his freedom of speech becoming an Apostle, in arguing the case and passing his vote?—No; for in so exact a relation, nothing more doth appear. Did he form the definitions, or pronounce the decree resulting?—No: St. James rather did that; for (as an ancient author saith), "Peter did make an oration, but James did enact the law." If St. Peter was such a man as they make him, how wanting then was he to himself! How did he neglect the right and dignity of his office in not taking more upon him upon so illustrious an occasion, the greatest he did ever meet with! How defective also were the Apostolical College and the whole Church of Jerusalem, in point of duty and decency, yielding no more deference to their sovereign, the Vicar of their Lord! The truth is, that St. Peter then did know his own place and duty better than men do know them now; and the rest as well understood how it became them to demean themselves."*

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* Barrow.

We proceed next to the INTERPRETATION OF THE FATHERS. To begin with the evidence of Tertullian, shewing the equality of the Apostles:—"Was any thing hidden from Peter, who was called the Rock of the Church to be erected, having obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of loosing and binding in heaven and on earth? Was any thing hidden from John, the most beloved of the Lord, lying on his breast, to whom alone our Lord shewed beforehand the traitor Judas, and whom he asked to be the son of Mary in his place?" Here we find Tertullian, only one century after the death of the Apostle John, speaking without the slightest allusion to the Church of Rome or to the superiority of one Apostle over the other. After he became a Montanist he writes (a quotation was given at this period of his life on the Roman side),—"I would know from whence you usurp this right for the Church? If from our Lord's saying to Peter, 'Upon this rock I will build my Church, to thee I have given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind or loose on earth shall be bound or loosed in heaven?' Dost thou, therefore, presume this power of loosing and binding to have descended to thee; that is, to the whole Church which is related to Peter? Who art thou thus overturning and changing the manifest intention of our Lord, who conferred this on Peter personally?"

Next in succession, Origen:—"If thou thinkest that the whole Church is built by God upon Peter only, what dost thou say of John the son of Thunder, and every one of the other Apostles? or shall we dare to say that the gates of hell were not to prevail specially against Peter? Were they then to prevail against the other Apostles and the faithful? Is it not plain that to all and each the assurance is made good, 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it?' and this also, 'upon this rock I will build my Church?' Is it to St. Peter alone that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given, and shall none other of the blessed receive them?"

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* Barrow.

St. Cyprian follows:—"The other Apostles were indeed that which Peter was, endued with equal consortship of honour and power." "No one of us sets himself up to be a Bishop of Bishops, or by fear of his tyranny compels his colleagues to the necessity of obedience, since every Bishop, according to his recognised liberty and power, possesses a free choice, and can no more be judged by another than he himself can judge another. But let us all await the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who singly and alone has the power both of setting us up in the government of his Church, and of judging our proceedings."

St. Cyril:—"Peter and John were equal in honour one to another, as were also the Apostles and holy Disciples."

St. Basil:—"St. Peter's soul was called the Rock, because it was firmly rooted in the faith, and did hold stiff without giving way to the blows of temptation." "The Church is built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles; Peter also was one of the mountains, upon which rock the Lord did promise to build his Church." "And we are taught this (obedience to superiors) by Christ himself constituting St. Peter pastor after himself of the Church; (for 'Peter,' saith he, 'dost thou love me more than these? feed my sheep);' and conferring to all pastors and teachers continually afterwards an equal power (of doing so), whereof it is a sign, that all do in like manner bind and loose, as he."

Gregory Nazianzen:—"Thou seest that among the Disciples of Christ, who were all indeed great and eminent, and deserving such election, this one is called a Rock, and receives in faith the foundations of the Church; another is loved more exceedingly, and reclines upon the breast of Jesus; and the other disciples endure the preference bestowed upon these with an equal mind. Peter asks one thing, Philip another, Judas another, Thomas another, and any one else another. Neither do all ask the same; nor does one ask every thing, but each by turns and severally. You will here say, perhaps, that each asked what he had need of. How should it seem so? Philip desires to say somewhat, but he dares not alone, and therefore brings Andrew with him. Peter wishes to make an inquiry, and procures John to do it by a motion of the head. Where in all this is any austerity? where any lust of domination?"

Chrysostom:—Christ "founded and fortified the Church upon his confession (Peter's), so that no danger, not even death itself, could overcome it." Again, "And I say unto thee, that Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church;' that is, upon the faith of his confession." On the text, "Feed my sheep," "He (the Lord) acted thus, in order to teach Peter and all of us with how much love and benevolence he was affected towards his Church, so that we also might be influenced by this motive to take upon us the care and charge of the same Church with our whole heart." Speaking of St. Paul,—"Who undertook the world, and governed the Churches on whom the whole world did look, and on whose soul the care of all the Churches everywhere did hang; into whose hands were delivered the earth, and the sea, and the inhabited and uninhabited parts of the world."

Hilary of Poictiers, apostrophising the Apostles:—"O holy and blessed men! who had seen so many things, only suitable to God, performed by our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, and who on account of the merit of your faith obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the right of binding and loosing in heaven and in earth!" He calls St. Paul "the master of the nations, the chosen doctor of the nations, the elect master of the Church!"

From the interpretation of the Fathers we proceed to discuss the question of fact, Whether St. Peter WAS AT ROME, SUFFERED THERE, and was BISHOP OF THAT SEE?

As to the first two points, I need not, I think, take up your time by arguing on them; at the present day few will be found to dispute them; and Barrow himself says,—"Many have argued him to have never been at Rome; which opinion I shall not avow, as bearing a more civil respect to

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* Barrow.

ancient testimonies and traditions." On the remaining point, that he was not Bishop of that See, Barrow contends, on many grounds, that it would confound the offices which God made distinct; the office of an Apostle and of a Bishop are not in their nature well consistent; it would not have beseemed St. Peter, the prime Apostle, to have assumed the charge of a particular bishop; it is not likely that Peter, being sensible of that superior charge belonging to him, would vouchsafe to undertake an inferior charge, especially at that time when they first made him to assume it, in the time of Claudius, who did banish all the Jews from Rome. He was too skilful a fisherman to cast his net there where there were no fish. That he seldom was at Rome may well be inferred from St. Paul's writings, in which he never mentions him by sending any salutation to him or from him. He was not there when St. Paul saith, "At my first defence no man stood by me." He was not there immediately before St. Paul's death, when the time of his departure was at hand, when he telleth Timothy that all the brethren did salute him, and, naming divers of them, omitteth Peter.

St. Peter is by ecclesiastical historians reported, and by Romanists admitted, to have been Bishop of Antioch for seven years together; he therefore did ill to relinquish that Church, "that most ancient and truly Apostolical Church of Antioch," (as the Constantinopolitan Fathers called it), and to place himself at Rome. This practice was esteemed bad, and earnestly reproved, as heinously criminal, by great Fathers, severely condemned by divers synods. It was anciently deemed a very irregular thing that two bishops should sit together in one city: but if St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, this irregularity was committed; for the same authority on which St. Peter's episcopacy at Rome is built, doth also reckon St. Paul bishop of the same. Irenæus saith, "that the Roman Church was founded and constituted by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul." Epiphanius saith, that "Peter and Paul were first at Rome, both Apostles and Bishops." So Eusebius implieth, saying, that Pope Alexander "derived a succession, in the fifth place, from Peter and Paul." This admirable reasoner argues afterwards, that the Apostles, supposing Peter to have been at Rome, were not reckoned in, and that the line of Bishops began from their successor; but my space will not permit me to exhibit his train of reasoning.

Assuming St. Peter to have been Bishop of Rome, Barrow denies that his SUCCESSORS can be considered as HEIRS of his APOSTOLICAL AUTHORITY. "It is a rule in the canon law, that a personal privilege doth follow the person, and is extinguished with the person. And such we affirm that of St. Peter; for, 1. His Primacy was grounded upon personal acts, or upon personal graces, or upon personal gifts and endowments; which advantages are not transient, and consequently a pre-eminency built on them is not in its nature such. 2. All the claim of Primacy granted to St. Peter is grounded upon words directed to St. Peter's person. Our Lord promised to Simon son of Jonas to build his Church on him: accordingly, in an eminent manner, the Church was founded upon his ministry. Our Lord promised to give him the keys of the heavenly kingdom. This power St. Peter signally did execute in converting Christians. Our Lord charged Simon son of Jonas to feed his sheep. This he performed by preaching, writing, guiding, and governing Christians. These things being in a conspicuous manner accomplished in St. Peter's person, the sense is exhausted. 3. The Apostolic office was personal and temporary. To that office it was requisite that a person should have an immediate designation and commission from God: that he should be able to attest concerning our Lord's Resurrection and Ascension; either immediately, as the Twelve; or by evident consequence, as St. Paul: that he should be endowed with miraculous gifts and graces: that he should be able to impart spiritual gifts. Now such an office was not designed to continue by derivation, neither did the Apostles pretend to continue it: they ordained Bishops, but they did not constitute Apostles equal to themselves. The Fathers, in a large sense, call all Bishops successors of the Apostles, not meaning that any one of them did succeed unto the whole Apostolical office, but that each did receive his office from some one (immediately or mediately), whom some Apostle did constitute bishop. According to the saying of Clemens Romanus,—"The Apostles preaching in regions and cities, did constitute their first converts for Bishops and Deacons of those who should afterwards believe; they withal gave them charge, that if they should die, other approved men successively should receive their office." Tertullian,—"All the Churches do shew those whom, being by the Apostles constituted in the Episcopal office, they have as continuers of the Apostolical seed." St. Peter was never reckoned Bishop of Alexandria, yet because it is reputed that he placed St. Mark there, the Bishop of Alexandria is said to succeed the Apostles. St. Cyprian and Firmilian do assert themselves successors of the Apostles, who yet perhaps never were at Carthage or Cæsarea. St. Jerome saith, that all Bishops are successors to the Apostles. Whereas it is asserted that indeed the other Apostles had an extraordinary charge, which had no succession, St. Peter had a peculiar charge, which surviveth; to this it is enough to rejoin, that the assertion has no ground either in Holy Scripture or in ancient tradition."

Upon the point that the Bishop of Rome is the CENTRE OF GENERAL UNITY—that to be a member of Christ's Church, it is essentially necessary to be in communion with him; upon this subject the arguments of Barrow, in his discourse "On the Unity of the Church," are—where are they not?—weighty and solid: but I prefer, as more exactly to the purpose, to cite the words of an eloquent writer of our own day, Mr. Allies:*—"In the year 402, St. Augustin wrote a letter to the Catholics, commonly called his treatise 'On the Unity of the Church.' The bearing of this book on the controversy between ourselves and the Roman Catholics is very remarkable. The saint refers triumphantly to most express passages from the Law, the Prophets, the Psalms, our Lord's own teaching, and that of his Apostles, bearing witness to the Catholicity of the Church: an '*Ecclesia toto terrarum orbe diffusa*,' or Church spread over the whole world. He challenges the Donatists to produce a single passage which either restricted the Church to the confines of Africa, or declared that it would perish from the rest of the world, and be restored out of Africa. His test seems decisive against the

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* I hope this learned author will not take it amiss if I venture to suggest, that, in a future edition, either the work be broken up into chapters, or else there be added a table of contents or an index. Speaking as a compiler, I find that his book occasions me much more trouble than (I can answer for this) he ever thought of giving any one.

Donatists, and against all those who, in after times, have restricted the Church to one province, or have declared the Roman Church to be so corrupt, that it is not a part of the true Church. For if it be not, then the promises of Christ have failed; but while it annihilates the position of the Donatists, it leaves unassailed that of Andrews and Ken. St. Augustin every where appeals to the Church spread throughout the whole world, as being by virtue of that fact the one communion in which alone there was salvation, and this upon the testimony of the Holy Scriptures only,—'To salvation itself and eternal life no one arrives, save he who has Christ for his head. But no one can have Christ for his head except he is in His body, which is the Church; which, like the head itself, we ought to recognise in the Holy Canonical Scriptures, not to seek after it in the various reports, opinions, doings, sayings, and sights of men.' But in the whole book there is not one word about the Roman See, or the necessity of communion with it, save as it forms part of the one universal Church. It is not named by itself, any more than Alexandria or Antioch. The contrast in St. Augustin is the more remarkable. The creed of the Council of Trent says,—'I acknowledge one holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all Churches; and I promise and vow true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, successor of the blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles and vicar of Jesus Christ.' This is distinct and unambiguous, just as much so is St. Augustin's *orbis terrarum*, 'for this the whole world says to them (the Donatists); an argument most briefly stated, but most powerful by its truth. The case is, the African Bishops had a contest between themselves: if they could not arrange between themselves the discussion which had arisen, so that the wrong side should either be reduced to concord or deprived, and they who had the good cause remain in the communion of the whole world through the bond of unity, there was certainly this resource left, that the bishops beyond the sea, where the largest part of the Catholic Church is spread, should judge concerning the dissensions of their African colleagues.' No doubt the Bishop of Rome was one, and the most eminent, of these bishops beyond the sea; but St. Augustin refers the decision of the Donatist controversy, not to him specially, but to the bishops generally. This is the very principle for which the Eastern Church for a thousand years, and the English Church for three hundred, have contended against the Church of Rome. I know not whether what St. Augustin says, or what he does not say, is strongest against the present Roman claim, but I think his silence in his book, 'De Unitate Ecclesiæ' absolutely convincing to any candid mind. Let us hold for an infallible truth his dogma, '*securus judicat orbis terrarum;*' but the Latin Communion is not the '*orbis terrarum.*' In truth, the Papal Supremacy at once cut the Church in half: the West, where the Pope's was the only Apostolical See, unanimously held with him; the East, with its four Patriarchs, as unanimously refused his claim, as a new thing which they had never received."*

Reader, this is a long and hard-fought battle: no sooner have we conflicted one question, than we have to turn to another. Now it is the ANCIENT CONTROVERSIES. The first instance which occurs is the interposition of Clement of Rome in the disorders of the Corinthian Church, to whom he thus writes,—"Our Apostles knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be contention about the title of Episcopacy; therefore, on this account, having obtained perfect foreknowledge, they appointed those of whom we have spoken before, and delivered a rule thenceforward for the future succession, that when they departed other approved men should take their office and ministry. Those, therefore, who were appointed by them, or after their time, by other distinguished men, with the consent of the whole Church, and who fulfilled their ministry to the sheepfold of Christ, honestly, quietly, and liberally, and through a long period received the highest approbation from all men, these we think unjustly deposed." "In this passage it seems difficult to imagine how Clement could avoid some allusion to his own jurisdiction, if he had understood it as being any thing like the Roman canon law. The Corinthians had schismatically deposed their bishops and ministers: the canon law declares it to be, by Divine right, the prerogative of the Bishop of Rome, as chief ruler and governor, to depose bishops. In presuming to act without applying to the Vicar of Christ, the pastor and prince over the whole Church under heaven, they shewed themselves manifest despisers of government, and guilty of an open contempt of the highest authority. Why does not Clement mention this feature in their conduct? Why does not the Church of Rome assert her just rights as the mother and mistress of all the Churches? Why does not her Bishop recognise on such an occasion, his own official powers, and call the refractory Corinthians, not only to a sense of their duty to their own pastors, but of their duty to himself, their chief pastor? Clement did not enforce the claims of the Church of Rome as the mother and mistress of Corinth, nor his own as their chief ruler, simply because these claims were not then in being."* The second instance is the Excommunication, threatened or pronounced (for the fact seems uncertain) against the African bishops, for refusing to conform to the Western manner of observing Easter; on which Eusebius writes,—"These things did not please all the bishops. Letters even yet are extant written by them, in which they sharply rebuke Victor; amongst whom Irenæus." So Socrates,—"Victor directed a letter of excommunication against those of Asia; upon which Irenæus severely rebuked Victor in a letter, reproving his too violent attack." In fact, notwithstanding the decree of the Roman pontiff,† many of the Oriental Churches persevered in the Asiatic custom. St. Athanasius, in his book "De Synodis," No. 5, mentions among these the Churches of Syria, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia; nor were they regarded by any one as schismatical, until the Œcumenical Council of Nicæa established it by a universal law, that all Churches should celebrate Easter according to the Roman custom. The third instance which occurs to us, is the difference between Stephen, bishop of Rome, and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, on the subject of rebaptizing converts. The former, after the example of Victor, proceeded to the length of denial of communion; and the latter asserted his independence, and refused submission. His colleagues, the African bishops, supported him in what would now be considered his contumacy. He and they, Stephen's excommunication notwithstanding, continued in the communion of the Catholic Church; and more, Cyprian stands high in the Roman Calendar as one of the blessed, and is enrolled in its canon law.* The author of "Tentativa Theologica" writes,—"The Pope had explained himself as one holding supreme jurisdiction: how then did St. Cyprian of Carthage and St. Firmilian of Cæsarea act? Perhaps they obeyed the decree of Rome? Nothing less. They adhered to ancient custom, and in their synods decreed that they should not stand by what the Council of Rome had ordered." The instance of Melchiades judging Cecilian seems hardly a case in point. Whether the Pope did well in accepting a commission from the Emperor Constantine to try the cause, I say not; but he did accept such a commission, and his associating fifteen Italian prelates with him as assessors, bears as much the appearance of deference to the co-ordinate authority of the Episcopacy as of independence in making the selection at all.

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* Allies' Church of England not in Schism.

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* Bishop Hopkins.

† Tentativa Theologica, p. 112.

The GUARDIANSHIP of the FAITH follows next. That in this respect the Bishops of Rome rendered invaluable services to the Church cannot be denied, and ought not to be questioned; but whether these noble acts can be allowed to pass as proofs of sovereign authority is another matter. In whatever steps the Popes took in the instances of the corrupters of the faith, or disturbers of the peace of the Church, they often acted in concert with the Bishops. Where they did not, and assumed to themselves an independent power, their judgment, as in the instances above named, was disputed, and virtually went for nothing. "When any heresy or suspected doctrine arose, it was the bishops who in synod condemned it, obliging the authors of it to retract and abjure their error. Thus the Bishops of Egypt acted towards Sabellius and Arius; the Bishops of Thrace towards Eutyches and Severus; the Bishops of Africa towards Pelagius; and the Bishops of Spain towards Priscillianus. And Petrus Aurelius observes with reason, in his learned Apology for the pastoral letters of the Bishops of France against certain books of the Jesuits, that no one, in these early ages, dared to deny or elude the force of these Episcopal judgments, merely on the pretext that they were not infallible. In order to escape from them, they only made use of some subterfuge, declaring themselves to have been falsely accused of the errors charged against them, and that their real opinions were altogether different from those imputed to them by the synods; for where no such plea existed, all recognised the sentence of the bishops as legitimate and decisive; all obeyed it, and all anathematised the writings or persons whom they anathematised."*

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* Bishop Hopkins, p. 129.

A GOVERNING POWER is claimed for the Bishops of Rome in virtue of the Primacy. "This is a question of fact, which will best be decided by a particular consideration of the several branches of sovereign power, that so we may examine the more distinctly, whether in all ages the Popes have enjoyed and exercised them or not; and if we survey the particular branches of sovereignty, we shall find that the Popes had no just title to them, in reason, by valid law, or according to ancient practice. 1. If the Pope were sovereign of the Church, he would have power to convocate its supreme councils and judicatories, and would constantly have exercised it: but it is manifest that the Pope cannot claim this power by virtue of any old ecclesiastical canon, none such being extant or produced by him; nor can he allege any ancient custom, there having been no general synod before Constantine; and as for the practice from that time, it is very clear that for some ages the Popes did not assume or exercise such a power, and that it was not taken for their due. 2. It inseparably doth belong to sovereigns, in the general assemblies of their states, to preside and moderate affairs: this privilege, therefore, the Pope doth claim; not allowing any general council to be legitimate when he in person or by his legates doth not preside and sway. 'All Catholics,' says Bellarmine, 'teach this to be the chief Pontiff's proper office, that, either in person or by his legate, he preside, and as chief judge moderate all.' But for this prerogative no express grant from God, no ancient canon of the Church, no certain custom, can be produced. Nor doth ancient practice favour the Pope's claim to such a prerogative, it appearing that he did not exercise it in the first general synods. St. Peter himself did not preside in the Apostolical Synod at Jerusalem, where he was present, but rather St. James, as we have before shewed. In the Synod of Sardica, Hosius, bishop of

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* Tentativa Theologica, p. 49.

Corduba, did preside (he is claimed as the Pope's legate, of which there is no proof). In the Second General Synod at Constantinople, the Pope had plainly no stroke. The Oriental Bishops alone did there resolve on matters, being headed by their Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. In the Third General Synod, Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, did preside, holding, so to speak, the Pope's proxy, but not heading the council solely in right of that. 3. If the Pope were sovereign of the Church, the legislative power would wholly or in part belong to him; so far, at least, that his approbation would be required to give life and validity to their decrees: but this claim, as it hath no ground in the Divine law, or in any old canon, or in primitive custom, so it doth cross the sentiments and practice of antiquity, for that in the ancient synods divers things were ordained without the Pope's consent, divers things against his pleasure. There is not in the synodical epistles of Nice and Sardica any mention of his confirmation. In the Synod of Chalcedon equal privileges were assigned to the Bishop of Constantinople as the Bishop of Rome had; and this was decreed and subscribed, although the Pope's legates did earnestly resist and protest against it. In the fifth general synod, Pope Vigilius did make a constitution prohibiting the anathematising persons deceased in peace of the Church; yet the synod decreed, that persons deceased were liable to be anathematised. Pope Vigilius refused his approval, and was banished and died in exile: yet this synod has been confirmed as a valid general synod, and the Popes have acknowledged it as such. So little necessary is the Pope's consent or concurrence to the validity of synodical definitions."*

"By the ninth canon of Antioch, the Bishop was made the despotic administrator of his diocese,—to rule and govern the people committed to him as he thought best. So late as the year 1022, the Fathers of the provincial Council of Salegunstadt declare, in the 18th chapter, to their people, that all absolutions received from Rome without the previous consent and license of their bishops were invalid and unlawful. The same thing was declared in the Council of Limoges, in France, A. D. 1034, session the second."† Included in the governing power is the authority, generally exercised or reserved for particular cases of granting dispensations. This the Pope also claimed, upon which Barrow observes,—"Anciently, before the First General Synod, the Church had no other laws besides the Divine laws, or those which were derived from the Apostles by traditional customs, or those which each Church did enact for itself in provincial synods. The Pope then could not impose his traditions, laws, or customs upon any Church. In St. Cyprian's time every bishop had a free power, according to his discretion, to govern his Church. If any new law were then introduced, or rule determined for common practice, it was done by the general agreement of bishops, or of a preponderating multitude of them, according to that saying of the Roman clergy to St. Cyprian,—'That decree cannot be valid that hath not the consent of the major part.' Metropolitan bishops, in their provinces, had far more power, more surely grounded, than the Pope had in the whole Church, yet had they not a negative voice in synodical debates. When Pope Julius did seem to cross a rule of the Church by communicating with persons condemned by synods, the Fathers of Antioch did smartly recriminate against him, shewing that they were not to receive canons from him. So far was the Pope from prescribing laws to others, that he was looked upon as subject to the laws of the Church no less than others. So the African Fathers supposed when they told Pope Celestine that he could not admit persons to communion who had been excommunicated by them, that being contrary to a decree of the Nicene Synod. The privilege of dispensing with laws had then been a strange hearing, when the Pope could in no case dispense with himself for infringing them, without bringing clamour and censure upon him."*

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* Barrow.

† Tentativa Theologica, p. 50.

Pereira, speaking of the first ages,—"There was not at that time, nor for some time after, any reservation of excommunication for sins. The bishops possessed the power of absolving all, as likewise did they whom the bishops constituted their Penitentiaries; and from the exercise of this power not even cases of public heresy were excepted, nor of those who had relapsed into idolatry in time of persecution. The fortieth and fiftieth canons of Africa, and the twelfth Nicæan, recognising this pre-eminence in the Episcopal order, ordain that it is the bishop's province to designate the duration of public penances, and the periods at which penitents should be absolved."*

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* Barrow on Supremacy.

We pass on to the HIERARCHY. Did it in its various gradations ascend up to, and depend on, the Bishop of Rome? "By the fourth and sixth canons of Nicæa, by the nineteenth of Antioch, by the twelfth of Laodicea, and by the canons of many other synods, both of the East and of the West, the right of confirming their suffragan bishops belonged to the metropolitans; and, without any other bull than those of their archbishops, they were enthroned and consecrated. The fact is, that both the election and confirmation of the bishops were reserved to the Apostolical See by the modern decretals and new rules of Chancery: the bishops thus confirmed by the metropolitans had it in their power to introduce into their churches whatever symbol of faith appeared best to them, provided it was not at variance with the Catholic dogmas. Not only were the clergy subject to the bishops, but all the monks within their respective dioceses: so that, without the previous license and approval of the bishop, no one could exercise any ecclesiastical or hierarchical functions, whether preaching or the administration of the sacraments. If the division and designation of dioceses be by Divine right reserved to the Pope, or if such division and designation depend upon him, why do the Fathers of Nicæa, when treating in the sixth canon of the limits and administration of the dioceses of Egypt, the east and the west of Christendom, instead of recurring for their establishment to Divine right, or to the authority of the Roman Pontiff, allege the custom introduced?—"Let the ancient custom be preserved throughout Egypt * * * and in like manner at Antioch, and the other provinces, let each Church retain its privileges. It is not so much the Supreme Pontiff [Pereira was a Roman Catholic, remember] as the consent of the Churches, which gives force to the discipline and economy of dioceses; and it is also from this consent that the division and distribution of dioceses originated in the commencement of Christianity; and without, it seems, the slightest concurrence, or the necessity of any such concurrence of the authority of St. Peter. We know that St. Paul, of his own authority, constituted Timothy bishop of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete; and the other Apostles acted in like manner in other regions. In addition to which, we know with certainty, that in the first ages, new provinces and bishoprics were erected without any concurring influence of the Roman Pontiff; and that even suffragan bishops, without any other license than that of their metropolitans, divided their bishoprics, constituting new bishops in them, and marking out territories for them."*

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* Tentativa Theologica, p. 51.

Indulge me, reader, in a short digression on the independence of the British Churches.

Eusebius, in his third book of Evangelical Demonstration, having declared that the Apostles preached the Gospel to the world, after naming many nations, adds, that "some passed over the ocean to those which are called the British Isles." It cannot be said that they are only set down to denote the most remote and obscure places; for, long before that time the British Islands were very well known all over the Roman empire, Britain having been the scene of many warlike actions from Claudius's time,—the occasion of emperors' additional titles and triumphs,—the residence of Roman lieutenants and legions,—the place of many Roman colonies, cities, and ways; but, especially about Constantine's time, it was the talk of the world for the revolt of Carausius and Allectus,—the victory and death of Constantius, the successor of Constantine, and his being declared Emperor by the army in Britain. Constantine going from thence, and being so much in the esteem of Eusebius, it is not to be conceived that he should speak these words at random, but that he had made a diligent inquiry both of Constantine himself, to whom he was well known, and of others of his court, concerning the state of the British Churches,—of what continuance they were, and by whom planted. After all which Eusebius affirms it with so much assurance—"That some of the Apostles preached the Gospel in the British Islands."† Gildas affirms the continuance of a Church in Britain from the first plantation of the Gospel, though not maintained with equal zeal, to the persecution of Diocletian; and even that was so far from destroying it, that it gained strength and reputation by the courage of confessors and martyrs; and the heat of it was no sooner over but,—as Bede and Gildas both say,—"the Christian Church flourished again in great peace and unity, till the Arian heresy gave it disturbance." Alban Butler, in his "Lives of the Saints," admits that the ancient British Church derived its religion from the East and not the West, and adduces her observance of Easter after the Oriental manner as a proof. With regard to the embassy of King Lucius, I will make, I think, a very fair offer,—Let the application of Lucius to Pope Eleutherius pair off with the speech of Abbot Dinoth to St. Augustin, into the populous regions of fable.

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* Tentativa Theologica, p. 47–54.

† Stillingfleet's Origines Britan. p. 37.

We go on to the DEPOSITIONS OF BISHOPS, as a proof of sovereign authority.* The exercising of judgment and censure upon bishops (when it was needful for the general good) was prescribed to be done by synods, provincial or patriarchal; in them causes were to be discussed and sentence pronounced against those who had deviated from faith, or committed misdemeanours. So it was appointed in the Synod of Nice, as the African Synod (where St. Austin was one bishop) did observe in their epistle to Pope Celestine, in these notable words,—"Whether they be clergy of an inferior degree, or whether they be bishops, the Nicene decrees have most plainly committed them to the metropolitan's charge, for they have most prudently and justly discerned, that all matters whatsoever ought to be determined in the places where they do first begin; and that the grace of the Holy Spirit would not be wanting to every particular province." The same law was enacted by the Synod of Antioch, by the Synods of Constantinople, Chalcedon, &c. Thus was Paulus Samosatenus deposed by the Synod of Antioch; Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, by a synod of the same place; Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, by a synod of Constantinople. In these depositions the Bishop of Rome had no hand, nor so much as a little finger. In some cases particular bishops, as defenders of the faith, assumed the power of deposing. St. Chrysostom deposed fifteen bishops. What has been done in this kind by Popes, jointly with others, or in synods, is not to be ascribed to the authority of the

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* Barrow, p. 391, &c.

Popes as such: it might be done with their influence, not by their authority. So the Synod of Sardica (not Pope Julius) cashiered the enemies of Athanasius. So the Synod of Chalcedon (not Pope Leo) deposed Dioscorus. So the Roman Synod (not Pope Celestine) checked Nestorius; and that of Ephesus deposed him. The whole Western Synod (whereof he was president) had a great sway. They allege that Flavianus was deposed by Pope Damasus; but it appears that there having been two claimants to the See,—Paulinus and Flavianus,—the Pope sided with the former, and appealed to the Emperor in his favour, who at first ordered Flavianus to go to Rome, and give the Western bishops satisfaction; but afterwards, being satisfied of the justice of his claim, freed him of that trouble, and without their allowance settled him in his see. Timotheus, the usurper of Alexandria, was not deposed by Pope Damasus, as alleged, but by a synod at Rome. It is said that Agapetus deposed Anthemius, bishop of Constantinople. The facts appear to have been these,—Anthemius had deserted his charge at Trebizonde for the See of Constantinople, and held the Eutychian heresy. Things standing thus, Pope Agapetus arrived at Constantinople to crave succours against the Goths. The Empress, who supported Anthemius, desired Agapetus to salute and consort with that prelate; he refused to do so, except Anthemius would return to his own charge, and profess the orthodox doctrine. The Emperor Justinian, therefore, took the matter up, and Anthemius was expelled the See. The circumstances do not allow of this act being properly called a deposition by the Pope.

The point which remains is the exercise of the right of Receiving Appeals as part of the sovereign authority. A presumed early instance occurred in the time of Cyprian, on which Mr. Allies writes,—"'Basilides,' says Mr. Newman, 'deposed in Spain, betakes himself to Rome, and gains the ear of St. Stephen.' This, however, is only half the case. It comes to the knowledge of St. Cyprian that he has done so. Let us take Fleury's account. 'As Basilides still endeavoured to force himself back upon his see, Sabinus, his legitimate successor, went to Carthage, with letters from the Churches of Leon, Asturia, and Merida, and from Felix, bishop of Saragossa. These letters were read in a

Council of thirty-six Bishops, at the head of whom was St. Cyprian,' who answered, in the name of all, by a letter, in which he declares the ordination of Sabinus a rightful ordination. If the appeal of Basilides to Stephen prove the Roman Primacy, what does the subsequent appeal of the people of Leon, Asturia, and Merida to Carthage prove? And if the restoration of Basilides by Stephen prove that he possessed that power, what does the subsequent pronouncing of that restoration void by Cyprian and his brother Bishops, without even first acquainting Stephen, prove? The Council of Sardica, held in 347, granted that Bishops might appeal to the Pope in certain cases; but this grant proves the power of receiving appeals not considered as inherent in the See of Rome." To continue the words of Mr. Allies,—"Over and above his natural eminence in the Church, a concurrence of events in the fourth century tended to give a still greater moral weight to the voice of the Bishop of Rome. While the other great sees of the Church were vexed with heresy and schism, his was providentially exempted from both. The same century witnessed Cecilian of Carthage judged and supported by Pope Melchiades, while the Donatist schism, all that century long, rent Africa in twain; and St. Athanasius of Alexandria, driven from his see and persecuted by the whole East, received and justified by Pope Julius; and St. John Chrysostom, too good by far for a corrupt capital and a degenerate court, in life protected, and in death restored, by Pope Innocent. We have seen St. Jerome appeal to Pope Damasus, to know which of the three competitors for the patriarchal throne of Antioch was the right Bishop; but it is impossible to describe the confusion and violence which the Arian heresy, and the cognate heresies concerning the Person of our Lord, wrought in the Church and Empire. In all these the Roman Patriarch was beheld immovable, supporting, with his whole authority what turned out to be the orthodox view."*

"In the year 418, more than two hundred bishops being assembled in the sixth Council of Carthage, St. Augustine among the number, the legates of Pope Zosimus propounded to them various new articles of discipline, which the Pope desired to have introduced into Africa, purporting to be canons made in the Council of Nicæa; whereas they were, in truth, canons of the Council of Sardica, either unknown or unused in Africa. One of these new statutes permitted to the African clergy, from that time forward, an appeal from their provincial synods to the Pope. As the African Bishops in this, as in other points of discipline, were in possession of a rule contrary to that which Zosimus desired to impose upon them (for they did not allow the Bishops to appeal to Rome, which was an article of Zosimus), they cried out on the spot, and protested to the legates, that if the canons which his holiness wished to introduce into Africa were in reality enacted at Nicæa they were ready to receive them; but as these canons were not to be found in the African copies of the Council of Nicæa, they demanded and required that deputies should be sent to Constantinople and Alexandria, who should make minute inquiries as to the number and subjects of the Nicene Canons. Let us hear St. Alypius. St. Alypius, bishop of the Church of Tagaste, and legate of the province of Numidia, said,—'Concerning this matter, we declare that we will observe whatsoever was enacted in the Council of Nicæa; but as yet this disturbs me, that when we look into the copies of the Nicene Council, we find there nothing like these things.' Let us also listen to St. Augustin. Augustin, bishop of the Church of Hippo, said,—'And we declare that we will observe this, reserving to ourselves the right of making a more exact search into the acts of the Nicene Synod.' Now we plainly gather from this narrative, which is taken faithfully from the Acts of the Synod, that the African Bishops mutually believed and determined that the Pope could not oblige them to alter their discipline, except he were supported by a general council, and that, a generally received one, like the Council of Nicæa. When the authentic copies of the Council of Nicæa were received from Constantinople, and no such canons as those alleged by Pope Zosimus were found in them, the African Fathers wrote a noble letter to the then Pope Celestine, in which these words were found, with which I shall conclude the Anglican arugment:—'Let your holiness, as it becomes you, reject the shameful appeals of litigious priests and clerks, since, by no definition of the Fathers, is this right of the African Church taken away, and the Nicene Decrees have most plainly subjected both the inferior order of clergy and the bishops themselves to their metropolitans; for they have most prudently, and with justice, provided that every affair should be terminated in the place where it arose. Nor will the grace of the Holy Spirit be wanting to any province, for it is especially granted to every one, if he is not satisfied with the judgment of those who took cognizance of his case, to appeal to the synod of the province, or to a universal council.'" *

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* Church of England not in Schism, p. 55.

And now, reader, I look for no praise at your hands, but I do hope that you will acquit me of any intention to weaken the argument on the Anglican side. I have endeavoured to make the best of the authorities before me. It is true that, if you turn to the books whence my extracts have been taken, you will occasionally find a member of a sentence dropped, a word or two changed or softened. The necessity for compression is partly the cause; there are partly other reasons. As masters in our houses we have our rules; and why not, as authors, in our books? My rule as a writer, so far as I can, with God's help, attain to it, is charity, and I think it not unreasonable that the authors whose sentiments I quote should be made to conform to the rule which I lay down for my own guidance. The occasions, I must say, have proved very rare in which I have had to interfere, but wherever I have seen in my authorities a disposition to get a little personal, and throw hard words about, I have made a point of calming their excited feelings, and pruning their exuberant diction. Those of them who have passed from this earthly scene will, I am sure, forgive me, for to them the principle that never faileth,—charity only remains; and if there be any living author whose words I have thus altered or suppressed, what I have said must plead my apology.

The glimpses which we have caught of the Church in those earlier days have shewn no signs of sluggishness or inactivity. With all their moral perversions and intellectual extravagances, men had religion really at heart. They contended for their liberties against what they deemed unjust

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* Tentativa Theologica, p. 115.

encroachments; yet they used not their liberty as a cloak for maliciousness, but as the servants of God. This is the last country, and mine, I trust, the last hand, to depress lawful freedom. Whatever be the inherent, indefeasible rights of the Episcopate, far from me be the wish to impair or to lessen them. Still, were it possible to harmonise right and rule, this would I do for the sake of peace and union. And, reader, if your patience be not exhausted, and you have leisure to follow me into the next chapter, I will endeavour to explain to you, after my poor fashion, how this may be done.

CHAPTER IV.

ADJUSTMENT OF THE ARGUMENTS.

Mr. Thompson's "Unity of Episcopate"—The Popedom may be acknowledged as a Constitutional Monarchy—View supported by Pereira—Earlier Accessions of Power by Popes defensible: later, indefensible—How the Church of England stands affected by this Theory—Conduct of Popes on Eve of Reformation, from 1471–1513, exorbitant and tyrannical—Church of England justified in her Separation—Clergy ready to renounce the Papal but unwilling to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy — Cardinal Fisher —Sir Thomas More—Their Views on Supremacy moderate—Church of England, provided other Differences could be got over, might acknowledge Pius IX. as Constitutional Head, saving her Rights and Liberties—The State unqualified to administer the Affairs of the Church.

In stating the argument on the Roman side, I omitted to notice a work, written, I am sorry to say, by a convert—sorry that so much talent as the work evinces should be lost to us, who had the first and best right to it. The title of the work is, "The Unity of the Episcopate considered, by Edward Healy Thompson, M.A." It purports to be a reply to Mr. Allies' treatise, "The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism;" and is considered on the side whence it comes to be a complete refutation of, or demolition, as I have seen it worded, of that very able performance. More, I ought to say worse, than all, the book has the credit of having done considerable execution among our ranks.

Mr. Allies and Mr. Thompson start both from the same point, and, singularly enough, allege each the very same words in vindication of their respective positions, viz. the following passage from the writings of St. Cyprian,—"*Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*:" Englished thus by Mr. Allies,—"The Episcopate is one, it is a whole in which each enjoys full possession." Farther illustrated in the "Tentativa Theologica." "Lastly, in the book 'De Unitate Ecclesiæ,' composed in the year 251, Cyprian has left us this important and memorable axiom :—'The Episcopate is one, of which a part is enjoyed by each Bishop entire ; the Episcopate is one alone, but so divided by Christ that each Bishop, in his share, enjoys entire all the power that any other Bishop enjoys; and each would not enjoy the Episcopate entire, if the power of the latter were greater than that of the former: the power, therefore, is in all equal, and in all the same." Cyprian had expressly said this same thing a little before in the same book:—'Therefore the other Apostles were what Peter was, enjoying the like fellowship of honour and power; but the beginning springs from unity, and the Primacy is given to Peter that the Church of Christ may be shewn to be one.'" *

Now hear Mr. Thompson :—" That passage of St. Cyprian which Mr. Allies assumes as so admirably expressing his view of the Episcopate, I must also claim as exactly defining the Catholic doctrine,—'*Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.*" This he renders, 'The Episcopate is one, it is a whole, in which each enjoys full possession ;' a statement true in itself, but falling far short of the true idea embraced in the passage. By it he means (as do all Anglicans) that every Bishop by himself enjoys full possession of the Episcopate; a meaning which is both imperfect and incorrect. It is not '*qui tenetur*,' but '*cujus pars tenetur ;*' not '*a singulis*' only, but '*in solidum ;*' the meaning being, not that each Bishop has a whole Episcopate to himself, nor that the Episcopate is distributed among the Bishops generally, so that each has an equal share out of it; but that the Episcopate is one, and that a share of it is held by each, so as to form and preserve a solid whole. All the Bishops of the Church have a share in the Episcopate; but they have it not separately but corporately; not as individuals, but as members of the Episcopal body."

" St. Jerome's words most amply testify to the same great truth, in which, not denying that the Church was founded on St. Peter, he maintains that it was 'consolidated equally upon all the Apostles.' I find nothing here of 'distinct descent.' The Church was built on Peter singly; but on the rest of the Apostles not singly, but as consolidated with that foundation which Christ laid in his chief apostle. It was built on John, and James, and Andrew, not as separate, distinct foundations, but as united one with the other, and with Peter. It is one solid mass, of which Peter is the first-laid stone; and not the first-laid only, but that on which the structure rests and out of which it springs—the stone which is imperishable, and which cannot be moved out of its place."

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* Tentativa Theologica, p. 40.

Speaking of the opinions of the Fathers,—"The Episcopate, like the body of Christ, the Church itself, was in their minds one incorrupt and indissoluble, it was based on unity, it began from unity, and existed in unity, of which the See of Peter was the effectual sign, the actual necessary bond, the central spring, the essential principle." Observe next what Mr. Thompson himself thinks of his theory:—"Human words, analogies taken from earthly kingdoms, cannot express the depth and intimacy of this great truth. It is not that the rest were taken into joint government with Peter, so as simply to be co-rulers, coadjutors with him, or that they were as his delegates and vicars; but as the Church, the Body of Christ, is that perfect incorporation which all other bodies can only represent, not be, so by the union of all its several organs with its head, the Episcopate is that perfect, sovereign, and indissoluble government, of which earthly states and kingdoms are but faintest types and shadows. It is based on essential unity, it is an image of the undivided Trinity. And as words are inadequate to express, and much more to explain, that adorable mystery, and sound self-contradictory and unintelligible to such as doubt or disbelieve, so is it with this great doctrine, which is an image of it. There is a depth, a closeness in it, which, to one who has not hold of the true idea, makes even the terms in which it is expressed appear inexplicably confused: either they communicate a merely human and false idea, or they convey no intelligible meaning whatever."* In other words, you must become a Roman Catholic before you can understand my doctrine, which is propounded in order to make you one!

Mr. Thompson's theory, in fewest words, amounts to this,—that a Bishop not in communion with the Bishop of Rome is in reality no Bishop at all.

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* Unity of the Episcopate, pp. 25, 26, 32, 40, 59.

It happens, that two examples are found in early Church history by which this principle may be tried: the first, the excommunication, by Victor, of Polycrates and other Asiatic Bishops for persisting in the observance of Easter after their tradition. In virtue of this excommunication, Polycrates and his colleagues were cut off from "the actual necessary bond, the central spring, the essential principle." They stood in the same relation to the Pope in which our Anglican Bishops stand at the present day: had they the least conception of the disabilities which they were under? had their contemporaries the least conception of them? for aught that appeared, nothing less. The Pope was thought to have taken a very unjustifiable step, and his conduct was generally blamed. Beyond this consequence nothing followed. The second and more remarkable example is the excommunication of Cyprian himself by Pope Stephen, in the dispute on the question of rebaptizing converts. Did he then, or afterwards, appear to be in the least conscious of the loss of function which he had sustained? Does he seem to have considered himself a whit the less a bishop after the excommunication than he was before? No trace of any such impression is to be found in his writings. Nor did this idea strike any one else's mind; but a very different one, if Firmilian may be heard, who wrote thus to Stephen:—"Thou hast cut thyself off. Deceive not thyself. When thou thoughtest that all could be excommunicated by thee, thou didst only excommunicate thyself from all." Surely, if Cyprian meant what Mr. Thompson supposes him to have meant by the words, "*Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*," he would not have been so perfectly at his ease as he was about Pope Stephen's excommunication. When I say perfectly at his ease, he was extremely angry at the Pope's proceedings, but shewed not the least apprehension. Fleury says, "that it does not appear that St. Cyprian or Firmilian ever changed their minds," (so that St. Cyprian died under excommunication from Pope Stephen); "yet St. Cyprian is named in the Canon of the Mass in preference to Pope Stephen."

This theory of "the Unity of the Episcopate" appears open to many other objections. To instance one or two:—it is not quite clear to me, since the Church is so wonderfully wound up with the Pope, what becomes of it when there is no Pope, as in the vacancy of the See. Were the Papacy an hereditary monarchy, there would be no difficulty, because on that supposition there never would be any vacancy; but the Tiara is elective. There is certainly no Pope till the College have elected the successor; consequently, in that interval, there is no Church: so that an idea, which strikes us as a modern invention, would seem to have been brought out long ago. For these eighteen hundred years—taking a liberal average, from decade to decade—the Church Catholic has presented a succession of Dissolving Views. Again, take the case of Pope Honorius, condemned by the Sixth General Council held in 680. "In consequence of which," Dr. Kenrick acknowledges, that "a dark cloud long lowered over the Holy See." Was that act of condemnation self-destructive? Did the Church—like some inconsiderate wood-cutter, who should seat himself on the bough which he was about to cleave from the parent stem—fall with her own stroke? "To Honorius, the heretic, anathema." This is rather strong language addressed "to the central spring." It may be added, that in the theory which Mr. Thompson has adopted, he is not only at issue with facts, but also with the generally received opinions on his own side. The Orders of the Greek Church are by Roman Catholics admitted to be valid, but this theory of unity invalidates them *ipso facto*. And why have so much pains been bestowed to make our Orders out worthless? For, once admit this theory, and they fall to the ground of themselves.

In referring to the conflicting statements in the second and third chapters of this little work, I can do no more than express in general terms the impression which they have produced on my mind. A close examination and comparison of them would make a respectable Parliamentary Blue Book, whereas I am limited to a thin octavo. In the first place, then, I do not think that Doctor Kenrick has made out his case. The sovereign power which he ascribes to St. Peter and his successors is by no means clear to my mind. On the other hand, I think the Primacy of St. Peter and his successors to have been, from the beginning, much more a reality than Protestants or Anglicans are disposed to allow. My conviction, arising from the passages which I have cited on both sides, is, that if you make the Bishop of Rome nothing more than first in order of the Patriarchs you rate him too low; if you give him that authority which the Bishop of Philadelphia claims for him, you rate him too high. I cannot help thinking, but that the view which, with great diffidence, I am about to submit, reconciles the difficulties of the question, and clears the Fathers from the inconsistencies (which we should be slow to impute to them) of flatly contradicting themselves. I believe, then, the Church, from the very first, to have been a kingdom, which may be fairly represented under its closest approximation, the modern appellation of a constitutional monarchy; in which the moral influence of its head was very great, while his actual power was very small.

And here I beg to express my thanks to the unknown friend who forwarded to me, a few weeks since, some very valuable remarks, contained in a couple of sheets of note paper, on my last little book, "The Sure Hope of Reconciliation." The writer suggests the line which I have taken, of considering "the Papal Supremacy"—the expression is his—as a Constitutional Monarchy. Did I owe this idea to him, I would frankly acknowledge the obligation; but the coincidence is independent, since I expressed the same thought in conversation months ago by the same word. With this free form of government, the reasoning throughout the "Tentativa Theologica" corresponds; as, "the intention for which Christ instituted the Primacy, all the Fathers agree was nothing else than that Christ sought to avoid schisms and to preserve unity. Thus St. Cyprian, in his book 'De Unitate,' says,—'Although he assigns an equal power to all the Apostles, yet that he might indicate unity, he, by his authority, caused the origin of that unity to begin from one; therefore the other Apostles were what Peter was, endued with the like fellowship of honour and power: but the beginning springs from unity, that the Church may be shewn to be one.' St. Jerome, against Jovinianus,—'One was chosen out of the twelve, that a chief having been appointed, all occasion of schism might be done away.' And St. Augustin, upon St. John,—'Therefore one for all, because unity is in all.' Now from this object of the Primacy its essence is plainly discoverable; for if Christ our Lord instituted one chief or visible head, in order to prevent schisms in the mystical body of the Church, and to preserve the union of all the members, it is plain that the duty of that chief or head is not to appropriate to himself the operations of the other members, but so to influence them that each member may abide in his place, and exercise the functions proper to his office, giving to all, for the *primum mobile*, the Divine Law and the Canons. This notion of the Primacy is further confirmed by observing, that the ancient pontiffs chiefly evinced the power and grandeur of their character in causing the canons to be executed, and in preserving to each one his proper rights. St. Gelasius, in his letter to the Bishops of Dardania, made the sovereignty and majesty of his primacy to consist in this,—'the statutes of every synod, which the consent of the Universal Church has confirmed, ought to be fulfilled by no See more strictly than by the First See.' "*

Had the Popes always kept within these bounds, I think that I may venture to say that there never would have been any schism at all; but this they did not. I would, however, draw a line of distinction between their earlier and later accessions of power: the former were honourable to themselves and beneficial to the Church; of the latter, regard for the truth of history will not permit me to speak in terms so flattering. Up to the period of the public recognition of Christianity by the Emperor Constantine, the Church stood out in clear and distinct outline as a spiritual society. But not so afterwards; the distinction between Church and State began to be confounded, and political influence told with serious detriment on many portions of the Church, especially on those nearest to the seat of government, or in powerful presidencies. Happily—for the interests of religion most happily—the Roman See was early removed from the immediate sphere of these secular interests, partly by the transfer of the court from the old to the new capital, partly by the jealousy which the privileges conferred on the rival See of Constantinople excited. Reverence for the chair of St. Peter led men habitually to regard the Bishops of Rome with affection and respect; these sentiments were strengthened and confirmed by the persuasion, that there the truth would be found. The Bishops of Rome were not afraid to speak their mind, they could dare to be independent. Such men as Athanasius and Chrysostom appealed with confidence to Rome; as they knew that there no court favour interfered, no political intrigues were at work; they felt confident that they should have justice done them. Considering the extent to which the State has overridden the Church wherever it has had the opportunity, I have my doubts whether we might not have lost sight of the principle of the spiritual society altogether but for the noble stand made by the Bishops of Rome. Successive councils conferred upon them additional rights and privileges, while the dissolution of the Western Empire left them more at liberty to pursue their own course, and the influence which they exercised enabled them to make the best terms with their rude conquerors. But latterly, when they became a prey to the evil tendency from which they had protected others, and were secularised themselves—when they had armies to support and nephews to enrich—when, in consequence, they wanted money for other than legitimate uses, the evil which they did well-nigh rooted out the remembrance of their former good; they encroached every where, upon every body, with shameless and unprincipled cupidity. To give a plausible colour to these exactions, those theories, which confer on the Pope the power of an absolute sovereign, appear at first to have been invented; but these powers have been shewn to be manifestly unsupported by the evidence of antiquity, and at variance with the just rights of the members, of which the successors of St. Peter are the heads.

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* Tentativa Theologica, p. 16.

Now let us see whether this view of the Church under the Popes, as a constitutional monarchy, affects the present position of the Church of England. I think that it will be found not to affect it at all; the Church of England owed due allegiance to the Pope as Primate, so long as he observed the Divine law, caused the canons to be executed, and preserved to each one his proper rights. But when he failed in all these respects the compact was dissolved, and the Church of England was at liberty to declare her independence, or, at all events, to suspend her canonical obedience till the Pope should return to a better mind.

Having made this general charge of malgovernment against the Popes before the Reformation, it is incumbent upon me to support it by evidence. From 1471 to 1513 the following Pontiffs filled the Apostle's seat:—Paul II., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Pius III., and Julius II. Pius III. lived only twenty-six days; the rest were worldly-minded men, at home in the cabinet or the camp, but painfully misplaced in the church and at the altar. The character of Alexander is too well known to need a word from me: he has gone to judgment. The aggrandisement of their families were the objects of the first four, war the business and pleasure of the last. What Ranke says of one holds good for all:—"They did not scruple to employ their spiritual influence—exalted, by its nature and objects, above all earthly objects—for the furtherance of their worldly interests." They wanted money, therefore almost every preferment was saleable in proportion to its presumed value. So much for the hat of a cardinal; so much for an archbishopric; so much for a bishopric; and for inferior offices in proportion, by a regular table. Nor was it by any means a rare occurrence to find one benefice sold over and over again to half-a-dozen different persons; but it did not signify who had the living provided the Pope got the money. "The Roman Curia thought only how it might best derive advantage from the vacancies and presentations. Alexander extorted double *annates* or first-fruits, and levied double, nay triple, tithes. There remained few things that had not become matter of purchase; the taxes of the Papal Chancery rose higher from day to day; and the comptroller, whose duty it was to prevent all abuses in that department, most commonly referred the revision of the imposts to those very men who had fixed their amount. For every indulgence obtained from the datary's office a stipulated sum was paid. Nearly all the disputes occurring at this period between the several states of Europe and the Roman Court arose out of these exactions, which the Curia sought by every possible means to increase, while the people of all countries as zealously strove to restrain them." To give these observations a particular application to ourselves,—"In no country had the Popes higher influence than in England, nowhere had they dealt in a more arbitrary manner with the benefices of the Church."

I must, however, reader, recall to your mind—(I take it for granted that you have read my last little book)—the chapter on the "Action of the Church in Henry the Seventh's reign," in my "Sure Hope of Reconciliation." You will have seen there that the Catholic religion preserved its vitality, at all events here in England, to an extent, considering these gross abuses, irreconcilable upon any other supposition than that of its possessing the germinating principle of Gospel truth. The Pope may have been Antichrist—literally speaking, he was nothing less at this period—but the Catholic religion, as shewn even in those degenerate days, was certainly not the religion of Antichrist, nor any thing like it. On the prevailing simony Ranke remarks:—"Could there be any rational expectation that men so appointed would fulfil their spiritual duties?"* None whatever; in fact, whenever places are purchased in Church or State there is a natural tendency—in the army, checked by a sense of honour, in the Church, by a principle of conscientiousness—to consider the emoluments attached to them as the just return for the capital invested, and the duties appertaining as a burthen or charge to be got rid of altogether, if possible; and if this cannot be, at all events to be reduced to a minimum, and consequently discharged in the most slovenly manner. We have seen what sort of sovereigns these Popes were to the people under their spiritual rule; how did they respect the rights of the clergy? The doctrine of the Roman Court theoretically propounded at an earlier date, but carried out to the fullest extent at this period, was, that the Pope held the same position with regard to any ecclesiastic that a secular prince does with regard to his subjects; that with respect to the bishops, he is as a king with respect to his magistrates; that as a king can at his will limit or restrain the jurisdiction of his senators, so can the Pope at his will limit and restrain the jurisdiction of the bishops; that as a king in temporal matters recognises no superior save God, so the Pope, in all matters relating to the government of the Church, is as much a sovereign, as absolute and despotic, that no one can say to him, "Why dost thou so?" Whence, doubtless, it arose that the bishops found themselves, in Gerson's time, reduced to the condition of "painted images," or, as the Spanish bishops complained at the Council of Trent, "reduced to nothing." Now here, in these words, is a plain justification of the conduct of the English Church in throwing off the Popish supremacy in the reign of Henry VIII. The Pope, from a constitutional had swollen into a despotic sovereign; he had exceeded violently and extravagantly the bounds within which spiritual laws confined him equally with others, and his subjects were consequently absolved from their allegiance. He had ceased to respect the liberties of the Church, and therefore could no longer lay any just claim to canonical obedience from Churchmen. If we examine the transactions relative to this question in the reign of Henry VIII. we shall find, I think, this feeling strongly marked. The conscientious scruples which prevailed were not so much about renouncing the Papal, as about acknowledging the Royal supremacy. When it was first proposed to make the King head of the Church, Collier informs us that "the demand of this new title surprised the clergy extremely." Nor did Convocation consent till they were plainly told that the præmunire—as great a piece of rascality as can be imagined—would be enforced if they did not. We are legally bound by this equally with all the other acts of Convocation; but as a point of honour, against efforts to right ourselves we are not bound at all. Tunstal, bishop of Durham, writing against the king's supremacy, took a moderate view. He considered our Saviour to be, strictly speaking, the Head of the Church, and lodged the branches of the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction in different subjects; he made a grant of the former to princes, and said that bishops were commissioned for the latter. The monarch condescended to argue the question with him; and it is no imputation on that prelate's discretion that he yielded to the royal rhetoric. There appears to have been a hitch after that in Convocation in getting the clause passed forbidding the clergy from "attempting, claiming, or putting in use, any of the old canons without leave from the Crown." However, the clergy yielded to the same pressure under which they had succumbed before. All the bishops except Fisher, and laymen of note excepting Sir Thomas More, complied. Lee, archbishop of York, sent up an address from the convocation of his province, in which they renounce the Pope's authority, and expressly declare that "by the word of God he has no more jurisdiction in England than any other bishop." The same protestation was made by the Bishops of Lichfield and Coventry, St. David's, and Bath and Wells, the Dean and Chapter of the last-named see, the Prior and Chapter of St. David's, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, St. Asaph, Lincoln, and Llandaff, thirty-four abbots of the most considerable monasteries, and a great number of members of their respective houses.* Collier acutely observes on the wording of the Protestation, that, "by inserting the clause in Scripture, or by the word of God, they seem to fence against renouncing any privilege which the Pope might make out by authority of councils or ecclesiastical constitutions." I have not time to go further into this part of the subject; but thus much appears to be certain, that while the clergy felt no difficulty in renouncing the Papal supremacy as it then stood, nothing but the strong grasp of that heavy and blood-stained hand forced them into the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy. Fisher and More, equal in constancy to the martyrs of any age, did not die for the Pope against the Crown, but for the Church against the State. The former, in his reply to Luther, lays down, among others, these principles,—"That in all controversies concerning the meaning of Holy Scripture, or any other point relating to the Catholic Church, there ought to be a judge to give sentence and settle the matter; and that the Pope, as head of the Church, has always had a principal share in decisions of this nature; that if every single Father was the organ of the Holy Ghost for the benefit of the Church, we have still more reason to believe that the Divine assistance is not wanting in general councils." Lastly, "That we ought not only to receive the doctrines handed down by tradition, but the customs likewise approved by the universal Church." There is no Ultra-Montanism here.

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* Ranke's History of the Popes, p. 43, vol. i. Bohn's edition.

More, in his letter to Cromwell, dated March 1533, acquaints this minister that it was formerly his opinion that the Pope's primacy stood only upon councils and prescription, and was not *jure divino;* that when the king shewed him his book against Martin Luther, he desired his highness either to omit the point of the Papal supremacy, or touch it more slenderly, at least. To this the king answered, as, dear reader, most of us of the authorcraft are very prone to answer, that he would not alter any thing. The king's book it seems and his further reading upon the controversy, made him change his opinion in some measure, and rather conclude the Pope held the primacy by divine right. However, he still thought the Pope under the jurisdiction of a general council, and that he might be deposed and another set up at the pleasure of such an assembly.*

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* Collier, vol. iv. p. 263.

Upon the whole, the conclusion to which I am brought is that, provided our other differences could be satisfactorily explained and settled, there would be nothing tending to compromise the just rights of the Church of England, nothing contradictory to the spirit of Scripture and the voice of antiquity, were we to acknowledge Pius IX. our constitutional head in things spiritual, just as we acknowledge Queen Victoria our constitutional head in things temporal.

I dare say, reader, that you will smile at what I am going to say, but I shall not mind that. I am not so certain—you observe, that I advance my proposition with some hesitation—I am not so certain but that Providence made the ruler of this small country, the centre of so vast an empire, in order that when the time of reconciliation should arrive we might, from our own experience, conceive the possibility of a centralised spiritual society as, but not more, vast. For my own part, I see no greater difficulty in, or inconvenience likely to be sustained by, the Pope from Rome regulating ecclesiastical affairs, say in Peru or Mexico, than in the Queen from London managing temporal concerns in the East or West Indies. Indeed, if our Government can get through their work pleasantly—and I suppose that they can, otherwise men would not be so ready to take office—I am sure that the Pope may very easily get through his work. The principles of the Church are fixed; the appointments of bishops and priests for life, their duties not liable to mutation, whereas the principles of the State are subject to continual change; the best places in our colonies, dependent on a minister's tenure of office, not worth more than seven years' purchase in the best of days, and dear now, one might think, at as many months. However, notwithstanding all this, and though thousands of miles by sea and land separate us from our most distant settlements, we yet get on remarkably well; every thing proceeds just as smoothly as if all our national anxieties were circumscribed within the beat of a treasury messenger, or the limits of the penny post. If, then, the State can manage so satisfactorily its varied, widely-spread, and sometimes conflicting trusts, why should we think that the Church, with not half so much to contend against, must necessarily be at fault? And why should the interference of a foreign bishop, as he is called in our spiritual affairs, be a greater hardship on us than the interference of a foreign queen in the temporal affairs of the native princes of our Indian empire be upon them? And as to appeals being carried to Rome—which, by the way, it is always in the power of the Crown to hinder—I see no greater mischief in an intricate case being occasionally heard there, than in our privy council here in London sitting, as they often do, year after year, to adjudicate on the perplexing claims of a couple of litigious nabobs at the foot of the Himalayan Mountains. There is another weighty consideration. Compare the administration of the State in things temporal with its administration in things spiritual; how able the one, and how inefficient the other! Plenty of military and plenty of civilians through our Indian and colonial empire, but how few clergymen! How hard to get the ear of a minister for a Church purpose, unconnected with political objects! Forty years ago we had not so much as a single bishop in our Indian empire, and will any one say that we have even now half as many as we ought? The answer is prompt and true,—Government have more on their hands already of Church matters than they can attend to. We know it. Let them, therefore, give up the administration of Church affairs, to which they have no right, and which they cannot properly perform. And who is to take it?—the lawful powers of the Church of England in trust for the Church Catholic. My censures are directed against the State in the abstract, and not against individual statesmen. They are trained to regard these subjects in a different point of view from that in which we Churchmen look at them. In their arduous profession—for statesmanship is a profession, and a very arduous one—their aim is to do the best for the country, according to their notion of what is best. If at one time they appear to overlook and disregard the Church as a divinely ordained responsible agent in the great work of social amelioration—if at another they evince a disposition to get the better of and overreach her—if they meddle in our schools and tamper with our trusts—the principles instilled in, the teachers of, their earlier years, these are to blame and not themselves. While—I address the few who think with me—as is our duty to the cause which we have espoused, we boldly and unflinchingly maintain our ground, persevering in our efforts to work on the hearts of our countrymen, strong in old prejudices, but stronger still, in older far love of truth and honesty; not one harsh thought unchecked should cross our minds, not a single word of bitterness consciously escape our lips or fall from our pens, directed against those who may differ from or oppose us. Consideration for others involves no compromise of principle, no servility of language, keeps us as independent as it finds us; while it imparts a zest to our labours; on failure accumulates no self-reproach—with success brings no alloy. Whether I have in any small measure attained to this quality, you, reader, will be able to form a better judgment than I can. This I know, that I do earnestly pray, and strive, and watch for it. The sky is overcast, the shadows fall thickly around us, still I do not despair but that light will yet spring up. My strained eyes descry a distant, a blessed vision: The reunited family of the Son of Peace kneeling once more around the altars which they loved of old, and the sacred page now beneath my hand reassures my entranced sight. "Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth shall flourish out of the earth, and righteousness hath looked down from heaven. Yea the Lord shall shew loving-kindness, and our land shall give her increase."

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* Collier, vol. iv. pp. 273, 279.

CHAPTER V.

VALIDITY OF ENGLISH ORDINATIONS.

Re-union of Greek and Roman Churches—Church of England stands in the same relation to the Roman as the Greek Church does—Anglican Orders disputed—Doctor Kenrick against our Orders—Courayer for them—Conclusion.

In the introductory chapter of this little book, I took a cursory view of the various projects for Reconciliation put forth since the changes and separations of the sixteenth century; but there was one attempt at an earlier date to reconcile the Roman and Greek communions, which advanced to the stage of an actual re-union, though the re-united parts seem, if the phrase be allowed, to have preserved their repulsive properties, and to have started asunder very soon afterwards, much more rapidly and heartily than they came together. Dr. Waddington's "History of the Church" is my authority for the short account which I am about to give of this transaction. The project originated thus: In A.D. 1232, "five Franciscan missionaries, in the discharge of their perilous duties among the Infidels, were seized by the Turks, and on their liberation, dismissed to Nice (then the residence of the court, the capital being possessed by the Crusaders) they were humanely received by the Patriarch Germanus, who was edified by their poverty and zeal; and in the communications of a friendly intercourse, the division of the two Churches was lamented and deplored by both parties. With the consent of the Emperor, John Vataces, the patriarch, addressed some amicable overtures, not unmixed with untimely reproaches, to the Pope and Cardinals." The Patriarch complained of the exactions of the Roman Church, which, Matthew Paris says, excited the animosity of the Greeks more than their opinions; the gravamen was a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence; just as it was at the Reformation, that is, in the popular mind. In 1233, Pope Gregory IX. sent four mendicants (two Dominicans and two Franciscans); they arrived at Nice, January 1234, and conferences commenced which closed in the middle of the May following, without the object of the negotiation being effected: the dispute turned entirely on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, and the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist. And as the more they argued the points the less they agreed, the Emperor proposed an accommodation — certainly very equitable — that one party should give up one point, and one the other; the Greeks the leavened bread, and the Romans the Procession. It will occasion no very considerable surprise to hear that the Emperor's proposal was rejected. But, as usual, one proposal brought on another, which shewed the limits to which the deputies of the Roman Catholic Church felt themselves authorised to go, — that the Greek should believe and teach that the Lord's body might be consecrated with unleavened as well as leavened bread; also they were to believe and teach the Procession of the Holy Spirit, but they were not bound to insert it as an article of their creed. In 1249, the negotiations were renewed by Innocent IV., through his agent, John of Parma, general of the Franciscan order, "alike eminent for his theological erudition and the austerity of his life;" but the death of the Pope and Emperor stayed further proceedings. In 1261, the Greeks recovered Constantinople. "Shortly after the restoration, the re-union was negotiated with much more ardour than at any former time, and even with a momentary show of success. Some Franciscans were once more sent to the East by Urban IV., and some articles were hastily drawn up; but Clement IV. refused them his ratification, and composed a more accurate formulary of faith, which he proposed for the acceptance of the Greeks. This confession contained the tenet of the Holy Procession, the doctrine of Purgatory, the doctrine and name of Transubstantiation, the plenitude of Pontifical Power, and the duty of Universal Appeal. In 1274, the Second Council of Lyons was convened, one of the professed objects of which was the reconciliatón of the Churches; it was still assembled, when, on June 24th, the ambassadors from the East arrived, and at the session which immediately followed, the Western Fathers were edified and astonished by the voices of the prelates of the East chaunting the double Procession in unison with the worship of the orthodox. The Pope's supremacy was acknowledged without any scruple, and a communication from Palæologus was publicly recited, in which he professed, without any equivocation or cavil, every tenet laid down in the confession of Clement IV. The re-union of the Churches was then officially announced, and the Pope pronounced the *Te Deum*, with his head uncovered, and his eyes suffused with unsuspicious joy." This reconcilation appears to have been entirely the work of the Emperor—an extraordinary stretch of the *regale*. A submission so full, not to say abject, could not stand long against the united sentiments and determined opposition of the Greeks, both clergy and people: but if any thing could reconcile one to a temporary assumption by the State of the rights of the Church—if any thing could make one forgive and think kindly of the past, it would be the graceful exercise of the royal prerogative, in an attempt to heal the wounds which, for the most part, itself has inflicted. Dr. Waddington ascribes to the Emperor motives less disinterested, which, if true, take very much off from the merit of the act; but these considerations belong to the department of political history.

In this instance of the Greek Church there appears to be a precedent for us: she has the succession, so have we; she has her lawfully ordained ministers, bishops, priests, and deacons, so have we; she has her sacraments, duly administered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that are of necessity requisite to the same, so have we. Throughout these negotiations, down to the final concession, hard and humiliating as it was, there is not one word about conversion, re-baptizing, re-ordaining: the external constitution and framework of the Greek Church were admitted to be sound, and the discussions turned on points of internal doctrine and discipline. Why cannot Rome deal with us on the same terms? Nay, but, it is replied upon us, you are rebels. Yours is a revolted, an *apostate* Church. With great respect I would call Mr. Bennett's attention to this use of the word. The objection, then, *in limine*, to us,—that which, as regards parallelism with the Greek Church, is considered to put us out of court, is, that we have renounced our due canonical obedience to the Pope. But from what age do you date that claim? You answer, From the age of the Apostles. Very well. Then the Greek Church is exactly in the same position, so far as allegiance is concerned; for the separation between the Churches took place long after the martyrdom of St. Peter. You rejoin,—At the very least, the Bishop of Rome was the Patriarch of the Western Church, and Britain fell within the Patriarchate. We deny the fact, and challenge you to prove it. The weight of historical testimony, direct and incidental, and the latter is always the more valuable of the two, is against you. We have scarcely greater certainty for any ancient fact, than we have for the independence of the British Church. You return to the charge, and say,—We have nothing to do with the British Church, that is an old wives' fable: your Church is dated from the mission of St. Augustin, and you will not deny that the Pope sent him, and that the Anglo-Saxon and of course English Church acknowledged the Pope's supremacy. To this my answer is,—That the power exercised by the Pope in the reign of Gregory I. was very different and very much less than that exercised in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—the one was constitutional, and the other unconstitutional: and the ground which I take, that the English Church was justified in withdrawing her allegiance from the Pope on the plea of his arbitrary and tyrannical exactions, is not in the least shaken by any thing you can make of St. Augustin's mission. You take up, then, that which you consider an impregnable position: you deny the validity of our Orders. We will, then, go into this question, and I shall pursue the same course as I did with the Supremacy. I shall state the arguments on both sides, and draw my own conclusions afterwards: so that, reader, you may draw your own conclusions, if you think proper, different from mine.

In presenting the argument for the Primacy on the Roman side, I relied implicitly on the acknowledged standard work of Dr. Kenrick, Roman Catholic Bishop of Philadelphia; and now, in giving the evidence against the Anglican Orders, I shall use as my guide a recent work on the subject by the same distinguished writer. His former work seemed, in the strength of its arguments and the copiousness of its details, to exhaust the subject; and I have no doubt but that this little volume on our Orders contains all that can be urged against them. The validity of our Anglican Orders depends, in the opinion of Bishop Kenrick, on the truth of three particulars:—1. Was Archbishop Parker really consecrated by Bishop Barlow? 2. Was Barlow himself consecrated? 3. Was King Edward's form a valid form? The Bishop of Philadelphia joins issue with us on these several points. Prior to an examination into the facts themselves, he thinks that consideration ought to be had to the sentiments entertained by our Anglican Reformers on the necessity of ordination and consecration. Archbishop Cranmer thought that all Christian princes had committed to them, immediately of God, the whole cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's Word for the cure of souls, as concerning the administration of things political and of civil governance; that the Priesthood and Episcopate were one office; that he that is appointed to be a priest or bishop *needeth no consecration* by the Scriptures, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient. On the accession of Edward VI. Cranmer took out a new commission to exercise his episcopal functions; and bishops were made by the king's letters patent. Courayer acknowledges, "it evidently appears than Cranmer and Barlow, two of the bishops appointed to reform the public liturgy and form of ordination, were notoriously erroneous in the matter of orders. It is but too apparent that the chief aim of these prelates was to extinguish Episcopacy." In the twenty-fourth of the forty-two Articles agreed upon in the convocation of 1552, and published by the authority of Edward VI., it is expressly stated, "that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or administering the Sacrament in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same; and those we judge lawfully called and sent which be chosen and called to this work by men, who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." This Article is the Twenty-third of those adopted in 1562, in the reign of Elizabeth, and known as the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. Bishop Burnet, upon this Article, writes, "that not only those who penned the Articles, but the body of the Church of England, for above half an age after, did acknowledge the foreign to be true and lawful Churches. The Article does not resolve 'lawful authority' into any particular constitution, but leaves the matter open and at large for such accidents as *had happened*, and such as might still happen: *they knew that all things among themselves had not gone according to those rules that ought to be sacred in regular times.*" The Twenty-fifth of the Thirty-nine Articles denies Orders to be a Sacrament. That very loose notions with regard to the necessity of Episcopal consecration prevailed in England, is illustrated by a fact mentioned by Courayer. In the year 1610, James I. wishing to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland, caused some Presbyterian clergymen to receive Episcopal consecration, at the hands, Bishop Kenrick believes, of Archbishop Bancroft. Some, at least one, of the English bishops, insisted on the necessity of their being reordained deacons and presbyters, inasmuch as they had never received orders from a bishop. But Archbishop Bancroft maintained that was unnecessary, otherwise the greatest part of the Reformed Churches would be found to want ministers. In the year 1664, four Presbyterian ministers of Scotland, coming into England for the purpose of receiving orders, were ordained deacons, and subsequently promoted to the higher orders. The Bishops' Bible, published by authority of the Convocation in 1562, clearly shews the Calvinistic tendency of the Anglican bishops. Acts xiv. 22, was thus translated,—" When they had ordained elders by election in every congregation." Dr. M'Crie, speaking of the first English Reformers, says, that " they would have laughed at the man who asserted seriously that the imposition of the hands of the bishop was essential to the validity of ordination. The private opinions of the first English Reformers were similar to those of the Reformers of Switzerland and Geneva. Hooper, in a letter dated February 8, 1550, informs Bullinger that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Rochester, Ely, St. David, and Lincoln and Bath, agreed *in all things* with the Helvetic Churches; Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, in a letter to Gualter, does the same."

The first Anglican bishops were reproached by their Roman Catholic contemporaries with having received no ordination. The earliest denial took place in 1566. By the 5th Elizabeth, cap. 1, power was given to any bishop in the realm to tender the oath of supremacy to any ecclesiastical person in his diocese, and the refuser was to incur præmunire by virtue of this statute. Dr. Horne, bishop of Winchester, tendered the oath to the deprived Bishop Bonner, then a prisoner in the Marshalsea. Bonner refused to take it; Horne certified his refusal into the Queen's Bench; whereupon Bonner was indicted upon that statute. He prayed judgment whether he might not give in evidence on this issue that he was not culpable, because the said Horne, called Bishop of Winchester, was not bishop when he tendered the oath; and it was resolved by all the judges, in the chief justice's chamber, that if the verity and matter be so indeed, he should well be received to give in evidence upon this issue, and the jury should try it. In the next session of parliament an act was passed to cure defects; on which Fuller remarks,—"The seasonable interposing of the statute made it a drawn battle between Horne and Bonner." In 1552, the Ordinal for the consecration of archbishops and bishops was by a special act of parliament annexed to the Book of Common Prayer; by the 1st of Mary, 1553, the Common Prayer Book and the Ordinal were abrogated; by the 1st of Elizabeth, 24th June, 1559, the act of Mary in 1553 was repealed, and that portion of it relating to the Book of Common Prayer is as follows:—"And that the said book, with the orders of service, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by the statute, shall stand and be, from and after the said Feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist, in full force and effect, according to the tenor and effect of this statute, any thing in the aforesaid statute of repeal to the contrary notwithstanding." It seems to be undeniable that the Ordinal of Edward formed part and parcel of the Book of Common Prayer. Mason, speaking of the Ordinal of Edward, says, that "it was not esteemed another distinct book from the Book of Common Prayer, but that they were both jointly reputed as one book, and so established by act of parliament in the 1st of Queen Mary: by the repealing of this act the book was disannulled, but it was established again in the 1st of Queen Elizabeth, and confirmed in the eighth of her reign. Had the sole ground on which Bonner rested his plea been, that the Ordinal of Edward VI. was not revived, why should Strype assign a different motive, that

Parker, Horne's supposed consecrator, was not ordained by an archbishop according to the statute of Henry VIII., while Heylin and Collier assign the one, that the Ordinal of Edward VI. was not revived at that time? The truth of the matter (I am using Doctor Kenrick's words) appears pretty clearly to have been, that so notorious was the defect of episcopal consecration in the first English bishops, that a reference to a jury was regarded as a perilous experiment. Whatever may be thought of the motive of Bonner's denial, it is certain that, at least previous to 1566, a formal and public denial was made that Horne, and consequently Parker, were bishops.

In the dispute between Bishops Jewell and Harding, which ran on from 1562 to 1568, on the question of the validity of Jewell's orders, Harding says,—"You were made, you say, by the consecration of the Archbishop (Parker) and other three Bishops; and how, I pray you, was your Archbishop himself consecrated? Your metropolitan had himself no lawful consecration. There were, indeed, some lawful bishops in the kingdom, who either were not required to impose hands on you, or who being required, refused." Stapleton, an eminent divine, who wrote between 1566 and 1573, addressing Dr. Horne, says, —"Is it not notorious, that you and your colleagues were not ordained according to the prescript, I will not say of the Church, but even of the very statutes?" Sanders, Regius Professor of Canon Law in the reign of Queen Mary, asserts that the English bishops enjoyed the episcopal office and chair many years, without episcopal consecration. Bristow in 1582, speaking of Parker, Grindall, &c., says that "they were deemed, without a new ordination, to be not only Priests, but even Bishops and Archbishops, either by virtue of the royal letters patent, or by a certain ridiculous consecration of those who had no power to consecrate, except what the Queen had given them." In the Supplication addressed by the Catholic priests to James I. in 1604, they expressly state, "Neither is any of your Protestant Ministers coming to our Catholic fraternity reputed other than merely laymen, without orders." The plea publicly set up by Bonner, that Horne was not a bishop,—the testimonies of several learned and holy men who were in England at the time, and would have known if any public consecration had taken place,—and the silence of

Jewell, Horne, and indeed of all Protestants at the time, and several years after,—all these facts established, beyond the possibility of doubt, that in the reign of Elizabeth the consecration of the first Protestant bishops was denied publicly and repeatedly.

It has been shewn, first, that the rite of consecration was held in little estimation by the first English Reformers; and, second, that the ordinations of the English Church were repeatedly called in question, or denied, during the reign of Elizabeth. We come next to the examination of the two alleged consecrations of Matthew Parker. The one is said to have taken place at the Nag's Head, Cheapside; the other at the Archbishop of Canterbury's palace, at Lambeth, on the 17th December, 1559. The See of Canterbury became vacant in November, 1558, by the death of Cardinal Pole. On the 18th of July, 1559, a writ, authorising the election of Matthew Parker, was issued; on the 1st of August he was elected to succeed the late Archbishop; on the 9th of September, the queen issued a commission for the consecration of the newly elect, directed to the Reverend Fathers in Christ, Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, Gilbert, bishop of Bath, David, bishop of Peterborough, Anthony, bishop of Llandaff, William Barlow, bishop, John Scory, bishop. This commission has on it the mark of authenticity.—*Per breve de privato sigillo.* That the four Catholic bishops named in this commission refused to execute it, is admitted by all. On the 20th of October, the queen issued another commission, *per ipsam reginam*, to "the most Reverend Fathers in Christ, Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury; and to the Reverend Fathers in Christ, Edmund, bishop of London, and Richard, bishop of Ely;" in this commission Parker is styled Archbishop, not Archbishop Elect.

When Fuller wrote his history, the Nag's Head Tavern was yet to be seen in Cheapside. At the entrance to it, he informs us, was something having the appearance of a pulpit. The account of this famous but much-disputed event is thus given by Doctor Champney, in a work "On the Vocation of Bishops," published in English in 1616, in Latin in 1618:—"At the Nag's Head, in Cheapside, by accorded appointment, met all those who were nominated to bishoprics. Thither came also the Bishop of Llandaff to make them bishops; which being known to Bishop Bonner, bishop of London, then prisoner, he sent unto the Bishop of Llandaff, forbidding him, under pain of excommunication, to exercise any such power within his diocese as to ordain these men. The Bishop, being terrified, refused to proceed in this action. Having, then, no other means to come at their desire, they resolve to use Master Scory's help, who took the name of Bishop in King Edward's time. He, having the Bible in his hand, they all kneeling before him, laid it open on every one of their heads, or shoulders, saying,—'Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely.' And so they rose up bishops. This whole narrative I have heard oftener than once of Master Thomas Bluett, a grave, learned, and judicious priest, he having received it of Master Neal, sometime reader of the Hebrew lecture in Oxford, who, when this matter took place, was belonging to Bishop Bonner, and sent by him to deliver the message to the Bishop of Llandaff, and withal to attend there to see the end of the business. Again, Mr. Bluett had other good means to be informed of this matter, being a long time prisoner with Doctor Watson, bishop of Lincoln, and other men of note of the ancient clergy, in whose time, and in whose sight, one may say, the matter was done. This was related to me by Master Bluett, in Wisbech Castle." In the Paris edition of 1618, the last circumstance is thus mentioned:—"And of this narrative there are now as many witnesses as there are priests living, who were captives for the faith in the aforesaid Castle of Wisbech with the aforesaid Master Bluett, in which place I also had it from him."

We learn from Pitzæus, that the same Mr. Neal communicated the fact to one Henry Orton, from whom Pitzæus heard it. The learned Jesuit Holliwood heard it also from Mr. Bluett, and published it in 1603, in the preface to a book called 'A Discussion.' The Catholic bishops and doctors of Queen Mary's time were wise men—they believed the story. Stowe, a Protestant, and favoured by Archbishop Parker, notes down the consecration and enthronization of Cardinal Pole, but says not a word of Archbishop Parker's consecration. He is also said by his private friends to have expressed his belief of the Nag's Head meeting. The author of "The Nullity of the Prelatic Clergy," says that, "Upon occasion of a certain book, brought into the Parliament House by some Presbyterian lords, proving that the Protestant bishops had no succession or consecration, and therefore were no bishops, and consequently had no right to sit in parliament, Doctor Morton, bishop of Durham, made a speech against the said book, in behalf of himself and of all the bishops then present; in which speech he endeavoured to prove their succession from the last Catholic bishops, who, says he, by imposition of hands, ordained the first Protestant bishops at the Nag's Head, in Cheapside, as was notorious to all the world. This was reported by an ancient peer then present in the House." This statement was subsequently confirmed by the testimony of Lord Audley, published in another treatise of the same author.

We are next to consider the alleged consecration of Archbishop Parker at Lambeth. In the year 1613, Mr. Mason, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. published a work on the "Consecration of Bishops in the Church of England." In this book, Matthew Parker is said to have been consecrated on the 17th of December, 1559, at Lambeth, by William Barlow, assisted by Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins. In the margin, reference is made to the Lambeth Register in these words, — "Ex Regist. Matthew Parker." If Catholic writers were silent as to the Lambeth consecration before the appearance of Mason's work, they were loud in protesting against it as a forgery immediately on its appearance. At that very time, in the same year 1613, Fitzherbert, a man of great learning and holy life, was engaged in publishing a rejoinder to the supplement of Father Robert Parsons, in the appendix to which he notices Mr. Mason's book, inquiring why the Lambeth Register was not produced, either by Jewell or Horne, when the validity of their consecration was called in question, and adding, "that he would return no small thanks to the man who would assure him that he had seen it." Accordingly, Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, caused some priests, Alexander Fayrcloth and Thomas Lathwait, *alias* Scot, Jesuits, and the Arch-priest Colliton, and Thomas Leake, a secular priest, who were then in prison on account of their religion, to be brought to view the register in the presence of himself and six other bishops. The priests were anxious to have the register submitted to them a second time, when they might have the opportunity of examining it more conveniently. They accordingly addressed a letter to the Archbishop to that effect, but were not able to succeed in getting another view of the register.

"Now I ask the reader," continues Bishop Kenrick, "to contrast the former silence regarding a Lambeth consecration with the clamour of the Catholic theologians, and their solemn Protest against a document now for the first time, after upwards of fifty years' sharp and continuous controversy on the subject referred to, produced by the chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose situation in itself is well calculated to diminish the weight of his testimony. It was evidently his interest to support the validity of the ordination of Parker, and it was no less evidently in his power to foist into the records, at Lambeth and elsewhere, the documentary evidence which had been so vainly called for ever since the time of Bishop Bonner's public and recorded protest that Horne was no bishop."

Our next duty is to examine the alleged CONSECRATION OF BISHOP BARLOW. It is certain that Barlow was appointed Bishop of St. Asaph in the reign of Henry VIII. and that he afterwards resigned that bishopric. It is generally believed that he was subsequently made Bishop of St. David's, although this, as will be seen in the sequel, is by no means absolutely established; and it is unquestionable that he was named by Elizabeth to the See of Chichester, in which Parker, according to the Lambeth Register, confirmed him a few days after he is supposed to have confirmed and consecrated Parker.

It is admitted on all hands, that the certificate or register of his consecration has never been found, although all possible diligence has been employed to discover it; the only proofs of his consecration are therefore inferential, derived from the supposed fact that he was for years considered to be a bishop by his contemporaries, and that he sat in parliament as such. These, it is contended, are sufficient to establish his consecration, which cannot be called in question on account of the want of a register of the fact, no more than that of several other bishops of whose consecration there has not been any doubt entertained. There is, however, a remarkable difference between the fact of Barlow's consecration and that of these other bishops, the record of whose consecration does not appear. Barlow is the connecting link between the New Church and the Old, and if his consecration be not absolutely certain, the validity of the ordinations of the English Church is, to say the least, not absolutely certain, at least so far as he is concerned. It does not appear that the consecration of these other bishops was ever questioned, whereas that of Barlow has been constantly denied. Barlow was elected Bishop of St. Asaph in the early part of 1535. The royal act for his confirmation is dated the 22d of February, 1535. According to Godwin, he was consecrated on the 22d of February, 1535. Wharton and the author of the "Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ" place his confirmation, which naturally precedes the consecration, on the 23d of February, 1535. Strype assigns the 15th of September, 1535, as the day of his confirmation. An authentic royal act of the 29th of May, 1536, authorising the Chapter of St. Asaph to proceed to the election of a new bishop, declares the See vacant, "*per liberam transmutationem W. Barlow ultimi episcopi ibidem electi*," that is, by the "voluntary exchange of W. Barlow, the last bishop elect of that place." Hence it appears that he was never consecrated for St. Asaph, for not only is he styled "elect," but his removal is called an "exchange;" whereas, had he been consecrated for St. Asaph, it would have been termed a "translation," as in a royal act authorising the election of a Bishop of London, after Grindall, who had filled that See, had been translated to York, "*per translationem ultimi episcopi ad archiepiscopatum Eborum.*" The mandate dated 22d of February, 1536, of King Henry to Cranmer, empowering him to consecrate Barlow, has not the sign of authenticity, *Per breve de privato sigillo*, or *Per ipsum regem.* According to Strype he was confirmed on the 15th of September, 1535; his words are, "Barlow was confirmed Bishop of St. Asaph on the 23d of February, 1535: he was then absent from the city, being occupied on the king's business out of the kingdom. Hence his confirmation was made by means of a proxy, and he himself probably consecrated in the country by virtue of the archbishop's commission." A MS. entitled "Speculum Protestantismi," written by a grand-nephew of Barlow, who had become a Catholic, and cited by Courayer, says, "that he was never Bishop of St. Asaph's." John Bale places him first at St. David's, before his translation to Bath. Lord Herbert, in noticing his mission to Scotland, expressly calls him Bishop Elect of St. Asaph's. All that has been said hitherto proves that it is least very uncertain whether he was ever consecrated for St. Asaph's; and this is confirmed by the date assigned for his passing to the See of St. David's. Richard Rawlins, the former Bishop of St. David's, died on the 18th of February, 1535, and on the 10th of April following, just six weeks after the act of Barlow's confirmation to St. Asaph's, he is said to have been elected to the See of St. David's, not yet having been consecrated for that of St. Asaph's.

That Barlow was made Bishop of St. David's by Henry VIII. is generally believed; nor do I deny that such was the case, although there are strong reasons for calling the fact into question. By a royal act of the 3d of February, 1548, *Per breve de privato sigillo*, the See of Bath and Wells was conferred on William, bishop of St. David's. In the act of nomination of Ferrer to the See of St. David, this is said to be vacant "by the translation of William," but in neither case is added "Barlow." From 1536 to 1541, in the writs for the convocation of parliament, the Bishop of St. David's is indicated by the initials of his surname, "T." This is something like very positive proof that Barlow was not Bishop of St. David's in this interval.

All the royal acts in which Barlow is named Bishop of St. David's, or Bishop of Bath and Wells, are without the sign of authenticity, *Per breve de privato sigillo.* The collection of Rymer contains no act of his election or nomination to any bishopric, no *regius assensus*, nor commission for consecration, after his resignation of the See of St. Asaph. As to the subscriptions to the acts of convocation in 1536, it appears certain that they were not in the original edition. Supposing that Barlow was in possession of the Bishopric of St. David's, and subsequently of Bath and Wells, does it therefore follow that he was consecrated? Certainly not: he himself publicly preached that the king's nomination was sufficient to make a bishop without any consecration. The sueing for the temporalities of St. David, if established, is no complete proof that he was consecrated, since there are several instances recorded by Mr. Stevens, in his "Great Question," of bishops elect being invested with their temporalities before consecration, as Stokesley and Bonner, bishops of London. Although Barlow passed for a bishop in Henry and Edward's time, it does not follow that he was really such, since neither the consecration of Latimer nor Ridley were subsequently allowed. There are, moreover, some very stubborn facts to shew that Barlow was not consecrated previously to the commission of the 9th of September. In the account of the service performed on that day in St. Paul's, London, Parker is mentioned as the officiating prelate, although all acknowledge that he was then only elect. Barlow and Scory assisted him: is there any likelihood that they would have assisted a bishop elect, had they themselves been really consecrated? In the commission of the 9th of September, Barlow and Scory are termed Bishops; in the supposed commission of the 6th of December, 1559, Barlow is styled "formerly Bishop of Bath, now elect of Chichester;" and Scory, "formerly Bishop of Chester, now elect of Hereford." If Barlow had been consecrated in the reign of Henry VIII., it seems most probable that Queen Elizabeth would have been crowned by him. Dr. Heylin, endeavouring to solve this difficulty, mentions only "three bishops of King Edward's making" as then alive, who were friendly to the Reformation. Had Barlow been one of the bishops consecrated in Henry's reign, would he not also have been mentioned in addition to these three? The fact of the matter appears to be, either that he was one of the three, or had as yet received no form of consecration. According to the most sanguine advocates of English orders, Barlow's consecration is no more than highly probable.

On the form appointed to be used by the Ordinal of Edward VI.—At the period of the Reformation in England, in the reign of Edward VI., the forms by which bishops and priests had been theretofore ordained were altered in order to adapt them to the new doctrines. The substitution of the word Elder for Priest in three different editions of the Bible, in 1562, 1577, and 1599, shews that the idea of Priest was studiously kept out of view. The Catholic Church does not believe that the effects of a valid form can be frustrated by the errors and disbelief of those who use it, or of the society in which it is employed: the Church has accordingly always admitted the validity of the ordinations of the Greek schismatical Church. The Church has, on the other hand, uniformly rejected the English ordinations as invalid. All the Catholic bishops of England unanimously condemned the form which had been introduced under Edward VI., and their decision was confirmed by the judgment of the Catholic world. The principal objections to the form were these: that there was no anointing, no porrection of instruments, no form of words specifying the order that was conferred, and particularly no words or ceremony made use of to express the powers of absolving and offering sacrifice. The rejection of English ordinations by the Church is grounded solely on the insufficiency of the form, and not upon any historical fact, such as whether Matthew Parker was or was not consecrated by Barlow, or whether Barlow himself was or was not a regularly consecrated Bishop. The insufficiency of the form of Edward VI. seems to have been virtually acknowledged by the Church of England herself. The Convocation of 1662 changed the form, and the change, especially in regard to the episcopal consecration, was precisely such as determined the rite to confer the episcopal character, as may be seen by comparing the forms of Edward VI. with those adopted by the Convocation in 1662.

THE FORM OF ORDAINING PRIESTS,

Devised by King Edward VI.

RECEIVE the Holy Ghost. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His holy Sacraments. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

THE FORM OF ORDAINING BISHOPS,

Devised by King Edward VI.

TAKE the Holy Ghost; and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by the imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness.

THE FORM OF ORDAINING PRIESTS,

Made by the Convocation after the Restoration of King Charles II. in 1662.

RECEIVE the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou shalt forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His holy Sacraments. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

THE FORM OF CONSECRATING BISHOPS,

Made in the same Year (1662).

RECEIVE the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God, committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is given thee by the imposition of our hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness.

With regard to these two forms, it is to be remarked that the changes of 1662 evidently aim at supplying the defect pointed out by the Catholic divines; whether they fully do so or not is not the subject of the present examination, and therefore may be passed over. If the forms "devised" by Edward VI. were sufficient, the Convocation of 1662, by changing them, especially in those points in which their validity had been assailed, inflicted a wound on the character of English Orders which it will be extremely difficult to heal or remove; if the forms of Edward VI. were not sufficient, the change came one hundred and three years too late. Hence, whichever opinion be adopted, the validity of English Orders has been most seriously compromised by those who should have maintained it. This is the substance of the Roman Catholic objections to our Orders.

Now for the evidence in favour of them. The three points are,—1, Was Archbishop Parker really consecrated by Bishop Barlow? 2, Was Bishop Barlow himself consecrated? 3, Was King Edward VI.'s form a valid form? The author whose account I shall abridge is Courayer, who published his work in 1727, and was Canon Regular and Chief Librarian of the Augustinian abbey of St. Genevieve at Paris. I am citing from the Oxford edition of 1844, a perusal of which I beg leave most strongly to recommend to those who desire fuller information than a page or two in a pamphlet can afford them, on a subject interesting so deeply all members of the Church of England.

1. The fact of Archbishop Parker's consecration.

On the 18th of July, 1559, Queen Elizabeth addressed a *congé d'élire* to the Chapter of Canterbury, recommending Matthew Parker. On the 1st of August the Chapter elected him, and certified this election to the queen, in order that she might give it effect by her letters patent. She did so; and on the 9th September directed a commission to Cuthbert, bishop of Durham; Gilbert, bishop of Bath; David, bishop of Peterborough; Anthony, bishop of Llandaff; William Barlow, bishop, and John Scory, bishop, for the consecration and confirmation of Parker. This commission was never executed; the Roman Catholic bishops named in the commission having, there is some ground for believing, refused to take part in the consecration. On the 6th of December a second commission was issued, directed to Anthony, bishop of Llandaff; William Barlow, formerly bishop of Bath, now bishop elect of Chichester; John Scory, formerly bishop of Chichester, now bishop elect of Hereford; Miles Coverdale, formerly bishop of Exeter; Richard (for John) of Bedford, and John of Thetford, suffragan bishops; and John Bale, bishop of Ossory; to the end that all, or, at least, four of them, should proceed to the consecration of Parker.

These letters patent contain one clause which did not appear in the others, and which has since furnished the ground for an objection against this ordination; it is, that the queen says, that she supplies by her own authority all that should be done upon this occasion contrary to the usages of the realm or to the ecclesiastical laws.

Anthony, bishop of Llandaff, had taken the oath of supremacy, but declined acting under this commission. A competent number of four confirmed Parker's election on the 9th of December. The consecration was performed at Lambeth on Sunday, the 17th of December, 1559, by the same bishops who had confirmed the election. The record is found in Bramhall's works, and in Burnet's " History " among the Records. By this record we see clearly that the Ritual of Edward VI. was exactly observed. They began first with the Morning Prayers, after which the Bishop of Hereford preached the sermon, before the ceremony began. Afterwards Parker was presented to Barlow; and when he had taken the oaths to the queen, and the prayers prescribed in the new ritual had been said, they laid their hands on him, saying to him in English the words according to the form. They after delivered the Bible into his hands, and communicated together, after which the ceremony ended. It is thus that this fact is given in the relation, of which the original is preserved in the registers of Canterbury, and in Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge; and we see that all that is there related agrees with the public records, which are found in Rymer's "Collection," and in the registers of Canterbury. Camden, a contemporary author, and one of the most exact and judicious writers England has produced, writes,—" Matthew Parker, a pious and learned man, having been duly elected Archbishop of Canterbury, after the preaching of a sermon, the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the celebration of the Eucharist, by the imposition of the hands of three late bishops, namely, of William Barlow, formerly bishop of Bath; John Scory, formerly bishop of Chichester; and Miles Coverdale, formerly bishop of Exeter, and of John, suffragan bishop of Bedford, was consecrated at Lambeth. He afterwards consecrated Edmund Grindall," &c.

Three things are principally urged against the record:— 1, That it was fifty years before it was published; 2, That the persons who published it, having an interest, ought to be suspected by us; 3, That the authors who have cited it give different accounts of the names of the consecrators. This disagreement marks evidently that it is forged.

In answer to the first objection, that it was not produced until more than fifty years after the fact happened, it may be fairly said,—Is it the custom to publish all the records of ceremonies which take place? How many records are kept shut up, which are not the less authentic for that reason? And besides, was it ever refused to be produced, or to be shewn to those who wished to assure themselves concerning it? What would have become of all our history if, to establish suspicions, no more were necessary than to put forward that the record was long kept secret? Let us add, that this record was cited in Parker's own time. In the "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," published in London in 1572, before the death of Parker, it is written of him,—"Accordingly, in the year of our Lord 1559, he was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury by the Dean and Chapter of the metropolitan church of Canterbury, and was afterwards, in the same year, on the 17th of December, consecrated by means of four bishops, William of Chichester, John of Hereford, Miles, late bishop of Exeter, and Richard (read John) of Bedford, required by a certain law enacted concerning this business." And there is this note in the margin,—"These consecrations and confirmations appear in the Registers." Camden, Godwin, and Hall, were acquainted with this record, and cited it. Archbishop Abbot, after the Roman Catholic priests had been allowed to examine the records, refused to them the second examination which they asked, because they wished the record to be put into their own hands; they were welcome to see it again, as they had seen it before.

2. To the second objection, that the parties who produced the document had an interest in forging it, it may be answered, that nobody can accuse the record of Parker's consecration, or the registers wherein it is recorded, of forgery or corruption, without throwing the same suspicion on the public records collected by Rymer, which agree perfectly with the Lambeth Records and Register. A second reason is, that if they had wished to forge records, they would not have confined themselves to these; they would have given us also the record of Barlow's consecration; they would have omitted the

clause objected to in the mandate for Parker's consecration; they would, in a word, have omitted nothing essential, nor inserted any thing to their prejudice.

3. As to the variations found among the different authors who cite the Registers before the Record had been made public, there is reason to believe that it was cited only upon unfaithful report, or mistaken meaning. Is it surprising if such citations were not always given exactly? Those who have published the Record itself have always agreed. Bramhall and Burnet have published it entire. Mason and Collier have given either large extracts, or the substance of the whole; and we find no disagreement in what they have put forth. All allow that ordination was performed by Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale; all, except one author, who mentions two, add one suffragan; and if they do not agree in the name, it is because in the Queen's letters he is found wrongly named. There are daily instances of former citations of manuscripts being found defective by those who consult them afterwards. It is further objected that many writers, contemporary with Parker, highly reproached him, as well as the other new bishops, that they had not been consecrated. They meant, because they were not ordained by that form which appeared to them essential, and because they did not regard as bishops those who consecrated them. With regard to the Nag's Head story, it rests on hearsay evidence, and it is inconsistent with undoubted facts; as, for instance, it affirms all the new bishops to have been ordained together by Scory, whereas by Rymer's Collection,—which agrees in this matter with Parker's Register,—we find commissions for the ordination of these bishops of different dates; and the Register relates the different days on which these ordinations were performed. After Parker's consecration, which took place on the 17th of December, he consecrated four others on the 21st. Five more on the 21st January, 1559–60; two on the 2d of March; two more on the 24th of March.

Sanders, the Roman Catholic historian, makes no mention of the Nag's Head consecration; yet he is not likely to have forgotten it if he had heard it spoken of. On the contrary, he writes,—"Elizabeth so confirmed these offices by letters patent, as that those on whom they were conferred were obliged to be ordained by certain persons, and by a certain ceremony prescribed by the laws of the realm." The Bishop of Llandaff stood excommunicated already, for having taken the oath of supremacy; and the threat which Bonner is supposed to make, is ridiculous. With regard to the speech alleged to have been made in parliament by the Bishop of Durham, in defence of the orders of the bishops, in which he is said to have brought forward, as his authority, the Nag's Head consecration; the Bishop of Durham, then living at the time of the publication of the statement, contradicted it by a solemn attestation, in which he says,—"I do hereby, in the presence of Almighty God, solemnly protest and declare to all the world, that what this author affirms concerning me is a most notorious untruth and a gross slander; for, to the best of my knowledge and remembrance, no such book as he there mentions was ever presented to the Upper House, in that or any other parliament that ever I sate in; and if there had, I could never have made such a speech as is there pretended, seeing that I have ever spoken according to my thoughts and always believed that fable of the Nag's Head consecration to have proceeded from the father of lies, as the authentique records of the Church still extant, which were so faithfully transcribed and published by Mr. Mason, do evidently testifie. And whereas it is affirmed that one of the ancientest peers of England, present in parliament when I made this pretended speech, is ready to depose the same upon oath, wherof there are as many witnesses living as there are lords and bishops that were that day in the Upper House of Parliament; I answer, that I am very unwilling to believe any peer of England should have so little sense of conscience or honour, as either to swear, or so much as affirm, such a notorious untruth; and, therefore, for the justification of myself and manifestation of the truths in this particular, I do freely and willingly appeal (as he directs me) to these many honourable persons, the lords spiritual and temporal yet alive, who sat in the House of Peers in that parliament, or to so many of them as this my protestation shall come to, for a true certificate of what they know or believe concerning this matter; humbly desiring them, and charging it upon their souls, as they will answer it to God at the day of judgment, that they will be pleased to testify the truth, and nothing but the truth, herein, to the best of their knowledge and remembrance, without any favour or affection to me at all. I cannot reasonably be suspected by any indifferent man of denying any thing that I know or believe to be true, seeing I am so shortly, in all probability, to render an account to the Searcher of hearts of all my words and actions; being now (at the least) upon the ninety-fifth year of my age. And I acknowledge it a great mercy and favour of God, that He hath reserved me thus long to clear the Church of England and myself of this most notorious slander, before He takes me to himself; for I cannot imagine any reason why this writer might not have cast the same upon any of my reverend brethren as well as me, but only that I, being the eldest, it was probable I might be in my grave before this untruth could be taken notice of in the world. * * *

"I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this seventeenth day of July, anno Domini 1658."

"THOMAS DURESME.

"Signed, sealed, published, and declared, in the presence of Thomas Sanders, senior; Thomas Sanders, junior; John Barwick, Clerk; R. Grey, Evan Davies.—Done at the house of Thomas Sanders, Esq., Flamstead, Hartford."

Under the date of the 19th of July, 1658, follows another certificate to the same effect, signed by the Bishops of London, Ely, Salisbury, Bath and Wells, Rochester, and Oxford. Under the same date another, also signed by the following peers:—Dorchester, Rutland, Cleveland, Dover, Lindsy, Southampton, Devonshire, Monmouth; with this addition,—"After search made in the book of the Lord's house I do not find any such book presented, nor any entry of any such speech made by Bishop Morton."

(Signed) "HENRY SCOBELL, Clerk of the Parliament."

The second point to be examined is the consecration of Bishop Barlow. And here, reader, I must put in a word for myself, and hope that you will not bear hard upon me if my evidence be not set forth as systematically as it ought to be. I have before me an octavo volume, with thirty-three pages of argument on this one point, which thirty-three pages I must condense into a single page, or thereabouts. The principal objection is, that Cranmer's Register, which contains the ordinations performed by him, or by his order, does not contain that of Barlow; and that the record of it could never be found. The answer to which may be given in the several particulars which follow:—1. Wharton, the author of the "Anglia Sacra,"—a very exact writer,—in his Catalogue of the Bishops of St. Asaph, states William Barlow to have been elected Bishop of St. Asaph, January 16th, 1536, and confirmed February 23rd, by Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. The author of the "Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," exactly agrees thereto. Neither the one nor the other really speak of any thing but his confirmation; but the consecration cannot have been long delayed after the confirmation, both because the laws made by Henry VIII. fixed at twenty days the time within which the ceremony must be performed, without further delay, on pain of incurring the penalties of a præmunire; and also because, in the month of April following, there is proof that Barlow was already consecrated. The silence of Cranmer's Register is no decisive proof of the omission of this consecration; for there are many others who have also been omitted, whose consecrations are notwithstanding very certain. To confine ourselves to a single instance, though we might give several, the consecration of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, cannot be found in the Register of Canterbury. Wharton places Barlow's confirmation in 1536; the author of the "Fasti," in 1535; the former using the new, the latter the old, style. 2. It is an indisputable fact, that although before Edward III. there are some examples of bishops sitting in parliament before their consecration, there is not one to be met with of their sitting there since his time. In the writs and sessions of parliament, held under Henry VIII., from the year 1536, Barlow was summoned with the rest; not as guardian of the spiritualities, but simply as bishop: he was consecrated then, at the latest, in April 1536; for the parliament was summoned 27th April, 1536. Mason adds,—"that in the parliament of 1539, Barlow, then bishop of St. David's, appeared in person twenty-seven times in the first session, and fifteen times in the second session. 3. The convocation of the clergy in 1536 was subscribed by eighteen bishops, amongst whom Barlow's name appears as Bishop of St. David's, before Robert Warton, bishop of St.

Asaph, consecrated 2d July, 1536. 4. There is in Cranmer's Register a record of the consecration of Arthur Bulkely as Bishop of Bangor. This ceremony was performed in 1541–2, in the reign of Henry VIII, "who," says Sanders, "ordained that one elected a bishop should only exhibit the king's diploma, in pursuance of which, being ordained by three bishops, with the consent of the metropolitan, he was ordered by an Act of Parliament, made in imitation of the ancient canons, to be a true bishop: nor was any one otherwise ordained to be acknowledged as such." According to the Canterbury Register, Bulkely was consecrated by John, bishop of Salisbury, William Barlow, bishop of St. David's, and John, bishop of Gloucester. Would a bishop, not consecrated, have been suffered in those times to officiate at such a solemnity, and even to take precedence of the Bishop of Gloucester, who had been consecrated four months before? 5. On Queen Mary's accession, if Barlow had not been consecrated, doubtless the see would have been declared vacant, "*ab nullitatem consecrationis suæ*," as is said of Taylor, bishop of Lincoln; whereas in the commission it is said to be vacant, "*per liberam et spontaneam resignationem Domini Willielmi Barlowe, ultimi episcopi et pastoris ejusdem*." In the instrument of the investiture of his successor the same terms are used; and in the Canterbury Register the see is declared vacant by the resignation thereof which Barlow was obliged to make, on account of his being married: "*per resignationem Wmi. Barlowe conjugati*." 6. The term bishop elect does not necessarily imply want of consecration. Champney, a Roman Catholic writer, says,—"It cannot be concluded from Parker's being called archbishop elect that he was not then consecrated at all, but only that he was not then enthroned in his see, as it is necessary to think of Barlow and Scory, who are only called bishops elect." Thomas Ward, although as much opposed as Champney to the validity of the English ordinations, makes the same acknowledgment. It is certain that Barlow was never installed in the bishopric of St. Asaph, but having been translated to the see of St. David's before he was installed in the former, was never able to bear any other title than that of bishop elect in his first see. 7. In the year 1537, Barlow was taxed with heresy, and he was charged with having advanced, among other propositions, this following,—" That if the king's grace, being supreme head of the Church of England, did choose, denominate, and elect any layman, being learned, to be a bishop, that he so chosen, without mention made of any orders, should be as good a bishop as he was, or the best in England." Now, does not this proposition, be it never so heretical, prove evidently that he had been consecrated himself? For any further satisfaction, reader, which you may require on the point of Bishop Barlow's consecration, I must refer you to the pages of Courayer, in which you will find the argument copiously set forth.

The third and last consideration is, the validity of the form of consecration, the reasons in favour of which I shall set dowm *seriatim*, as I did in the last instance. First, as to the defect of essential matter. On the strength of the proofs which the learned Morinus has produced in his work on the " Sacrament of Orders," all learned divines agree with him that the imposition of hands is the only essential matter of this sacrament. The unction, the imposition of the book of the Gospels, and the porrection of the instruments, are not looked upon as essential parts of the sacrament, as well because it is easy to shew, that the use of these things has not either been perpetual or universal, or because the Scriptures speak of nothing but the imposition of hands alone. The unction is not in use among the Greeks; before the ninth century, scarcely any trace is found of the porrection of instruments: with regard to the imposition of the book of the Gospels, it appears, from Alcuin and Amalasius, that the Church of Rome has not in fact always made use of this ceremony.

Secondly, as to the defect of form. Imposition of hands, and prayer in general, that is to say, the invocation of the Holy Ghost, to obtain for the bishop elect the graces necessary for the worthy discharge of the functions of his ministry, make up of themselves the matter and essential form of the Sacrament of Orders. This is proved by both the Greek and Latin Rituals and Pontificals, which antiquity has preserved to us, and from the testimonies of the ancients, who further confirm what we find in the liturgical remains which have been published. As to imposition of hands, it is evidently prescribed by King Edward's Ritual, for the rubric says expressly,—"Then the archbishop and bishops present shall lay their hands upon the head of the elected bishop, saying, 'Take the Holy Ghost,' &c." As to prayer, or the invocation of the Holy Ghost, to gain for the bishop-elect all the graces needful for him, this may be proved by reading the Ritual itself; which, by the way, I may remark, may be found among the other valuable reprints for which we are indebted to that very laudable undertaking, the Parker Society. To the objection made, that the English was an "unknown form," it amounts only to thus much, a form unknown to the Roman Pontificals. The Greek, Oriental, and Latin forms, differ from each other, and why may not the English differ from them, provided, as has been shewn, the essential substance be preserved? To the further objection, that the form is indeterminate, the form for ordaining a bishop differs, as may be seen by comparing the two, from the form for ordaining a priest, and is so far determinate.

In the revision of the Ordinal which took place under Charles II., the additions were not made from necessity, but only for a fuller explanation; for certainly the bishops who caused this change to be made did not consider themselves as wrongly ordained. This was never thought of by any one,—a proof that they considered it a mere explanation. With regard to Bishop Bonner's objection to the Bishop of Winchester, that he was no bishop, the Roman Catholics then, as now, denied the ordination which he had received to be canonical. Into this question we have gone already. The general presumption of writers upon this subject appears to be the correct one, that Bishop Bonner's objection was grounded on the fact that the Ordinal of King Edward VI., though virtually, had not been by name and explicitly, revived in the act 1st of Elizabeth, 1559. The subsequent act of parliament was explanatory of the law as it stood, and did not make that law which, till then, was no law. Where the Statute-book is not so clear as it might have been, it is a sort of justice to acquit the accused, whose cause is always entitled to favour when the law seems to need explanation. Besides which it appears, from a letter of Parker's to Sir W. Cecil, Secretary of State, that Queen Elizabeth did not wish that any one should be pushed to extremities on account of the oath, but, in order not to disoblige those of her party who were desirous of the contrary, did not come forward herself in the matter, but left it to Parker and Cecil to manage the whole between them, with circumspection. The queen, as is certain, being in this disposition of mind, and her interest and views being the moving principle of all the resolutions of parliament, need we be surprised that they should have discharged Bonner from the indictment laid against him, and at the same time solemnly recognised Horne as bishop? The limits of this pamphlet do not allow of my carrying the argument further than to say, that Dr. Lingard, the learned and accurate historian, frankly and unreservedly acknowledges the ordination of Parker, according to the Lambeth Register.

I have dealt to the best of my ability fairly by both sides, and while, reader, I leave you at full liberty to form your own judgment, I will in brief state mine. When I began with Bishop Kenrick's book, I quaked at the formidable array of demonstration that rose up before me; but as I went on I was reassured, and before I got to the end of the case against the English Church, I felt satisfied in my own mind that the deniers of the validity of Anglican Orders had not a leg to stand on.

It not unfrequently happens that a cause is irretrievably damaged by its own arguments, just so is it here. That pure invention, the Nag's Head consecration, with the *animus* which it indicates, is destructive of the whole body of evidence to which it coheres; it all falls to the ground, just as a house tumbles to pieces from the rottenness of its main beams. The Churchman most nervous and sensitive about Apostolical Succession, need not sleep one wink the less at the thought of any flaw in the title-deeds of his Christian inheritance. He may make himself quite easy on this point, and happy is he if he have nothing worse to trouble him.

I will now bring these remarks, which have exceeded already the limits assigned them, to a close. In dealing with the facts and arguments before me, I have put each in the position in which they appeared to tell best for either side; and, reader, should you think the conclusions in any part of this little work strained or illogical, remember that you are not left entirely at the author's mercy. You have ample materials whence you may build up a theory more accurate in your judgment than that which has been presented to you. This observation applies particularly to the view which has been taken of the Supremacy. Admitting that the limit has been reached, I trust that it has not been passed, to which the Church of England, animated with a pure and holy desire for peace and reconciliation, may advance. In reverting to the negotiations for re-union in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we find the overtures to have come from the Roman side,—a disposition on the part of that Church to meet the Protestants half way, and a clear and plain recognition of the Lutheran and English Churches, as spiritual societies. At present I am fain to confess that no overture for peace comes from Rome; there is no disposition evinced as yet to meet Protestants half way; and in the place of the recognition of the Church of England as a spiritual society, there is a flat denial that she possesses any such pretensions,—a determination to see in her a State Church, and that only. This last difference is the more remarkable because, certainly, if ever there was a time at which the spiritual and temporal powers could excusedly have been confounded, it was in the Erastian days of Archbishop Wake and Dr. Dupin; whereas now, I think, that you would scarcely find a moderately informed Churchman, in any walk of life, who did not distinguish in his mind, though he might fail in expressing his meaning clearly, between the Church and the State; who did not know that the Citizen and the Churchman were distinct characters, though found, as in a healthful state of things always would be, in harmony with each other.

There is in the minds of Englishmen a deep, earnest, religious sentiment, which, as I have already said, turns now with affectionate interest to the faith of their ancestors. There is a growing disposition to discard harsh prejudices, to banish acrimonious feelings, to put the best construction on many things, on which hitherto they have been accustomed to put the worst; with the instinctive love of fair play which is part and parcel of the national character, there is a determination to pay in full the debt of justice to Rome. But that done, there remains another debt which must not, in the warmth of mistaken generosity, be cancelled by a stroke of the pen, but must also be paid in full,—justice to England. On both sides, to use the candid and truthful words of the latest, and not least accomplished historian of the Church, Dr. Townsend, there has been wrong, and from both sides must come reparation for the wrong. For my own part, I could not render the unreserved submission which seems to be demanded, not only because by so doing I should dishonour the memory of our Protestant forefathers, who contended even to the death, but because I should thus shew equal despite to those wise and good men, bishops of our English branch of the Church Catholic before the Reformation, who manfully defended their just rights, and resisted with all their might the open or secret encroachments of the Roman pontiffs. If an example be required to confirm my assertion, I will give that of a canonised saint, that faithful shepherd of the flock committed to his charge, holy Hugh of Lincoln.

In conclusion, the ground which Calixtus took up, will, I think, give us fair standing room. Let us, with him, grant to Rome all of which she can prove her undoubted enjoyment during the first five centuries; let us venerate the apostolic Chair; let us recognise in the Successor of St. Peter the centre of Unity; let us give to him whatever power and authority be consistent with the preservation to each member of the Church of his ancient and assured rights. If this will content Rome, well,—if not, how great and precious soever be the blessings of peace, we may yet purchase them at too high a price; and I should consider that price excessive which stript me of my birthright, and compelled me to barter away the liberty wherewith Christ hath made me free.

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